# The Outlook

DECEMBER 31, 1919

**For 1920 we have announced for publication in The Outlook a programme of articles dealing with the great problems that face the American people and contributing, we hope and believe, to their solution. These problems, as we see them, can be called**

1. The problem of industrial unrest.
2. The problem of the high cost of living.
3. The problem of Americanizing our people.
4. The problem of electing a President and Congress.
5. The problem of the churches under modern conditions.
6. The problem of the war veteran.
7. The problem of public health.
8. The problem of the American woman.

**As a part of this programme, and a contribution to the discussion of the problem of industrial unrest, we shall print next week (in the first issue of the New Year) the first of the articles in this announced series. It is entitled "A Capitalist's Confession of Faith." It is written by a man who has been identified, not only as an investor, but also as counsel, with the promotion of the interests of the capital invested in an important group of industries. He has thoughtfully attacked the problem of industrial unrest and has come to conclusions which are in some particulars quite at variance with the opinions commonly attributed to capitalists. We believe that his article will arouse discussion and will certainly stimulate thought.—THE EDITORS.**

## THE WEEK

### THE UNSCRAMBLING OF THE PACKERS

THE AMERICAN PEOPLE probably eat more beef, mutton, and pork per capita than any other nation in the world. The business of furnishing them with their favorite meat foods has grown into vast proportions and has been so organized that it is practically administered by five great corporations—Armour & Co., Swift & Co., the Cudahy Packing Company, Morris & Co., and Wilson & Co. These five great corporations, whose headquarters are in Chicago, control American meat products from the hoof to the kitchen. As their business has grown and has been more and more efficiently organized, they have taken over the management of industries which are subsidiary to the production and selling of meat or which depend upon the by-products of the meat-packing business. They control, for example, the transportation of cattle to the stock-yards; the stock-yards where they are received before butchering; the shipment of the product in specially built refrigerating cars; the storage of the meat in local refrigerating buildings; and the manufacture of glue, leather, soap, and many other staples and specialties derived from animal products.

In short, the packers have built up with great efficiency and skill of administration a monopoly of huge dimensions. They have been accused of profiteering and of maintaining high prices. From the time of the fight against a National bank system in the days of Thomas Jefferson and John Marshall down to the present, the American people in periods of economic stress have turned with a good deal of savageness upon monopolies. One of the most interesting of the decisions of Chief Justice Marshall, which came from the attempt of Robert Fulton and Chancellor Livingston to create for their personal benefit a monopoly of steam navigation on the Hudson River, established the principle that all monopolies in inter-State commerce should be regulated by the National Government and must submit to the authority of the National Government. Under this principle, in more recent times confirmed by the Sherman Anti-Trust Law, the Federal Trade Commission has for many months been investigating the packing industry to see whether the five corporations above named have been conducting their business in a monopolistic restraint of trade. The result is that, by an agreement with the Attorney-General of the United States, the five companies, in order to avoid being prosecuted in the courts, have promised to "unscramble" themselves, to use the epigrammatic phrase invented by the late J. Pierpont Morgan. Within two years they will sell their subsidiary and affiliated concerns and will devote themselves exclusively to the production of meat products, and possibly to the sale of some other foods closely connected with meat.

### THE PRACTICAL EFFECTS OF UNSCRAMBLING

THERE are certain great social advantages in a meat monopoly such as that which the Government is now trying to break up into its component parts. One of these is sanitation and hygiene. Fifty years ago, when every little village had its slaughter-house and local butcher, it was almost impossible to maintain general standards of cleanliness and healthfulness. Moreover, in those days of local effort and local competition the distribution of sound, fresh, and wholesome meat was not nearly as common as it is now. Fifty years ago it was really a difficult matter and required a considerable amount of knowledge and judgment to buy safe kerosene oil. The Standard Oil Company did in reality establish a standard, and safe and excellent oil of a uniform quality can now be obtained at any little crossroads store in any part of the country. So with the modern methods of butchering and refrigerating meat a standard quality of meat products can be obtained in every community. If the breaking up of the so-called meat monopoly into weaker units lowers the standard of meat foods, it will be a social disadvantage.

There is, too, reasonable ground for doubt as to whether the dissolution of the so-called Meat Trust will result in lower prices. The cost of dissolution and disorganization must be borne by somebody, and it will probably in the end be borne by the consumer. Individual competition may temporarily cheapen certain prices, as the cut rates on the railways in days of cutthroat competition in railway management temporarily gave the traveler cheaper tickets. But cutthroat competition is inevitably expensive in the long run.

We are not here criticising the agreement to which the packers and the Gov-



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ernment have come; we are only trying to point out the doubtfulness of this method of dealing with the question of high prices. Mr. Roosevelt was sometimes laughed at for attempting to differentiate between "good" trusts and "bad" trusts. But his differentiation was perfectly sound. Badness is not an essential element of bigness. The policy of the Federal Government in recent years has apparently been that of trying to make industrial malefactors innocuous by making them weak. It has always seemed to us that the wise policy to pursue with regard to the trusts is not to destroy them but so to regulate and control them that they will become efficient servants of society. Federal incorporation and Federal inspection with Federal suppression of specific illicit practices is the real remedy to be pursued rather than to attempt to limit the size and efficiency of industrial units. The chief social value of the proceedings of the Government against the packers lies not in the possibility of cheaper meat, for that result seems to us very doubtful, but in the fact that it is one more episode in the education of the public on the relations of Government to business.

## ENFORCING PROHIBITION

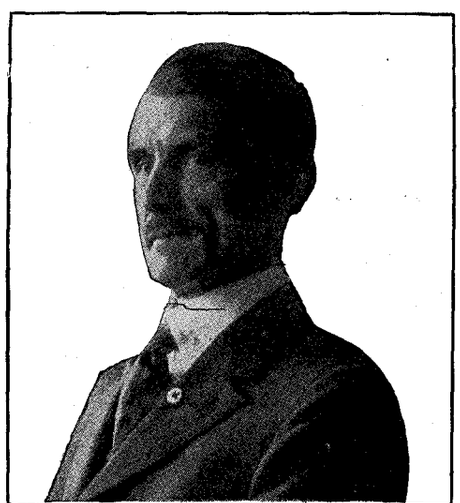
UNLESS something unexpected happens, the amendment establishing Constitutional prohibition for the Nation will go into effect on January 16. On the shoulders of Mr. John F. Kramer, Federal Prohibition Commissioner, will rest the responsibility for the enforcement, so far as the Federal Government is concerned, of National prohibition.

Mr. Kramer is a lawyer of Mansfield, Ohio, a Lutheran, a Democrat, and a lifelong prohibitionist, who is known to his neighbors as "Honest John." Mr. Kramer has not been in any way officially connected with the Anti-Saloon League, so he comes to his work independent of any past affiliation in the fight for the enforcement of National prohibition. Mr. Kramer is at present engaged in the difficult task of organizing his new department. It is hoped that his department will begin to function fully by the middle of January.

In an address before the Board of Temperance, Prohibition, and Public Morals of the Methodist Episcopal Church at Washington this last November, Mr. Kramer outlined his idea of the best methods of enforcing National prohibition. At this time he said:

> Heretofore the line of demarcation has been between those who favored prohibition of the liquor traffic and those who were against the prohibition of the liquor traffic. From now on the line of demarcation will be between those who are in favor of obeying the law, whether their personal views are in harmony with the law or not, and those who will be ready, anxious, and desirous to violate the law.
>
> The matter of enforcing the law will be primarily in the hands of the local authorities, municipal, county, and State. This must ever be kept in mind and is vital if we reach the results which we ought to reach. The local authorities ought to be jealous of this right and zealous in the performance of their duty, and in most cases they will be. It is only where they fail to act at all, or where they act in a careless and indifferent way, that the organization now being completed will exercise its right and take up the duties of enforcing the law. But when such conditions exist the organization will not be slow or hesitant in acting or in assuming the rights and privileges placed upon it under the law.

Mr. Kramer also said: "No man has any business holding a position as an official agent anywhere for the enforcement of this law unless he is in sympathy with its purpose." With this statement all who believe that liberty is founded on the observance of law will agree.



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JOHN F. KRAMER, PROHIBITION COMMISSIONER

## PROHIBITION—A SKETCH OF ITS HISTORY

THE SUPREME COURT in declaring by a unanimous vote that the war-time Prohibition Act was Constitutional destroyed the last hope of the "wets" that they might find an oasis in the desert bounded on the east by war-time prohibition and on the west by the Federal Amendment to the Constitution. As the time approaches for the initiation of this drastic National experiment in the control of individual action it may be interesting to review briefly the history of the prohibition movement in the United States.

The first American liquor legislation of which we have knowledge was that passed by the Province of Maryland in 1642. A law was passed at this time punishing drunkards by a fine of one hundred pounds of tobacco. The Virginia House of Burgesses in 1664, three years after its organization, passed a law prohibiting ministers from giving themselves to excess in drinking.

The first temperance society in the United States was formed in 1808. Its members bound themselves not to drink "rum, gin, whisky, wine, or distilled spirits, except by advice of a physician or in case of actual disease." In 1832 Congress forbade the sale or giving of intoxicants to the Indians.

In 1833 the State of Georgia gave the right of local option to the inferior courts of two counties. Eighteen years later the first State-wide prohibition law was passed, which made Maine a "dry" State—at least on the statute-books.

In 1869 the National Prohibition party was organized and in 1873 the movement which culminated in the creation of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union began at Hillsboro, Ohio. Most of the early temperance movements made their campaigns upon the basis of a moral protest and their appeals were directed more to the emotions than to the reason. From 1890 on, however, the economic and social effects of alcohol were studied with increasing precision and knowledge. In 1890, for instance, President Corbin, of the Reading Railroad, ordered the discharge of all employees who frequented drinking-places. In 1893 the Anti-Saloon League was formed, the organization which has been the most powerful and effective agency in the bringing about of National prohibition. The League has worked with remarkable efficiency and political astuteness.

In 1893 a "wet" and "dry" map of the United States showed only a few scattered States completely "dry" and a few States in which the people had the right of local referendum on the liquor question.

In 1917, before we entered the war and before any question of war-time prohibition was raised, nearly eighty-eight per cent of the area of the United States was under no license and more than sixty per cent of the people of the United States were living in "dry" territory. This may be taken as showing that National prohibition was not solely the outcome of war conditions, although the war doubtless hastened its arrival.

## OUR RAILWAY PROBLEM

THE SENATE has passed the Cummins Bill and the House the Esch Bill, both of which provide for an immediate return of the railways to their owners. Both bills have gone to the Conference Committee in the hope of reaching some agreement, and so effecting such a return

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at this time—a hope which we do not share.

The law under which the railways have been operated during the war provided for Government control for twenty-one months after the proclamation of peace unless ended previously by the proclamation of the President. The question before Congress and the country is whether that control shall cease now or shall continue for the twenty-one months provided for in existing legislation, or possibly for a still longer period, in order to give Government administration a fair trial under normal conditions.

A petition has been presented by Mr. Gompers, on behalf of the Farmers' National Council, the American Federation of Labor, and the Railway Brotherhoods, to the President, asking that he put a stop to the rumors that he plans to return the railways to private control, and that he advocate a continuance of Government operation for at least two years, "so that under peace conditions there may be a more thorough and consistent trial of Government operation, and that carefully considered plans for the ultimate disposal of the railroads may be worked out and adopted." The spirit of this petition is admirable. It is conservative and constructive and is wholly free from combativeness and partisanship. The fact that a farmers' organization in New York State has repudiated this petition raises the suspicion that the petition may not represent the well-considered judgment of the constituents in whose name it is presented. But unquestionably it formulates the judgment of a very considerable body of citizens of all classes except perhaps the railway managers and a group of financiers whom those managers represent.

A clear statement of the grounds on which this judgment is based is contained in an article on "Our Railroad Problem" in the December "Atlantic," by George W. Anderson. Mr. Anderson, the "Atlantic" tells us, has long been identified with the investigations of economic and industrial problems, was formerly a member of the Massachusetts Public Service Commission, then United States District Attorney for the District of Massachusetts, then a member of the Inter-State Commerce Commission, and is now Justice of the United States District Court. The reader especially interested in the railway question must be referred to his article for fuller information. His principles can be only briefly stated here.

## JUDGE ANDERSON'S POINTS

THE railway owners—that is, the stockholders and the bondholders—have practically, Judge Anderson says, nothing to do with the management of the railways. These are managed by the officials elected and nominally responsible to the owners, but the responsibility is purely nominal. Their management, in his opinion, has been a failure. Combining their control with National and State regulation is no less a failure. This fact is demonstrated by the disastrous railway strikes which have occurred and which cannot be prevented by law unless some provision is made for the protection of the rights and interests of railway employees; demonstrated also by such histories as those of the New Haven, the Rock Island, and the Frisco railways. The control of the future must be directly or indirectly by the public and for the public and under such authorities as ought to command and will command the confidence of the mass of employees. In the management of the future, labor is as much entitled to representation as capital, but neither is entitled to control. To give back the control to the corporation managers, as the Cummins Bill proposes, or to give it to the railway workers, as the Plumb Bill proposes, would be a blunder. "We ought either to put our railway industry fully under public direction, or to try the experiment of a balanced administration—making, say, one-third of the directors public directors, probably appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate, one-third capitalistic directors chosen substantially as hitherto, and one-third labor directors." In the interest of the real owners of the railways, of their users (both travelers and shippers), and of the general public, we need in railway management "efficiency, economy, and progressive development," and these cannot be given by either labor control, capitalistic control, Government regulation, or free competition. The final result to which Judge Anderson conducts his readers we give here in his own words:

> The best thing that can happen to the American public—and especially to the railroad-security-owning public—is an extension of Federal control until after the next Presidential election. This may be done either by the President under the authority of the present act, or by joint resolution of Congress. The responsibility obviously ought to be taken in part by Congress, and not be borne by the President alone.

Without sharing fully Judge Anderson's condemnation of railway management under private control, we agree with the conclusion thus independently arrived at both by Judge Anderson, representing the general public, and by the petition of Mr. Gompers, representing the farmers, the railway employees, and organized labor. The people ought not to be asked to accept a solution of the perplexing problem, involving so many interests and on which are so many conflicting opinions, without more opportunity for adequate deliberation than has yet been afforded them. An election year is, in any event, a poor year for Congress to decide a great economic issue, owing to the injection of party prejudices. To postpone decision until after the Presidential election is to give opportunity for reflection, a comparison of views, and a chance for the people to express their judgment on two important questions: Will they attempt Government administration of the public highways? And, if so, to what personnel will they intrust the initiation of this experiment?

## THE COAL OPERATORS' RESPONSIBILITY

A PLAIN question of good faith is raised between the Government and the coal operators by the belated statement of the operators of the Central Competitive District that they never agreed to the settlement of the coal war proposed by President Wilson. This statement, coming ten days after the press had informed the country that the President's plan had been accepted by both miners and operators and that the coal conflict was ended, has astonished the American people. It has awakened not a little suspicion of the sincerity of the operators. Their late protest against the settlement was made after the President had named the three members of the Commission to adjudicate differences between miners and operators, and the suspicion easily arises that the operators' protest was born of objections to the personnel of this Commission. The members of this Commission are Henry M. Robinson, for the public; John P. White, for the miners; and Rembrandt Peale, for the operators. Mr. Robinson, who is from Pasadena, California, has been a member of the Shipping Board. Mr. White is a former President of the United Mine Workers of America, who has more lately been labor adviser to the Fuel Administration. Mr. Peale is an independent coal operator of Pennsylvania, and has recently been an adviser of the Fuel Administration in regard to bituminous coal.

It is true that the public's understanding that the operators had accepted the Wilsonian settlement was based mainly on the statement of Attorney-General Palmer, who said, on December 10: "The miners at their meeting this afternoon accepted the President's proposal exactly as written, and I understand the operators' committee have announced their acceptance of it." But the silence of the operators for ten days was tacit admission that newspaper reports of their acceptance were correct.

The public is not concerned with the

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motives of the coal operators in this issue; it is concerned only with their conduct. Unmistakably their conduct justified the public in believing that they had accepted President Wilson's compromise. Their long silence unmistakably meant consent. If the American people is forced to face further hardship now as the result of a reopening of the coal conflict due to the belated change of mind on the part of the bituminous coal operators, the American people will be justified in placing the full blame for such a National calamity squarely on the shoulders of the operators.

## "ABRAHAM LINCOLN" IN NEW YORK

A PLAY in a book is a song unsung. The dramatic possibilities of an unacted play can be only approximately estimated. If it were otherwise, there would be no stage failures.

Despite its reported success in London, it must be confessed that many went to witness John Drinkwater's "Abraham Lincoln" upon its first appearance in New York with doubt and misgivings.

All who had read the play were conscious of its historical defects and its misunderstanding of local conditions. They saw in it a recognizable figure of the Lincoln they knew, powerful, far-visioned, and human. On the stage, which would predominate? The Lincoln or the false localisms?

The first act, despite its moving conclusion, was disappointing. We cannot picture the actors in the drama of Lincoln's real life as conscious of the high destiny he was to fulfill, at the time of his nomination for the Presidency. The first act had a little of the tone of a spurious prophecy written to explain a deed already accomplished.

FRANK McGLYNN AS ABRAHAM LINCOLN

But from the first act on, the figure of Lincoln grew portentously. The world in which he moved was one of flesh, blood, and spirit. His personality struck fire from personalities only less vital than his own. The dramatic wisdom of Drinkwater in creating a new member of Lincoln's Cabinet to sustain the burden of opposition to the President was justified by the vividness and reality of the conflict portrayed. It would have been unfair and untrue to assign such a rôle to either Chase or Seward, but the need of personifying the distrust which Lincoln met made its presentation a moral necessity. The creation of Hook was a daring stroke, but it worked.

When the curtain fell on the last tragic scene—the assassination of Lincoln—in Ford's Theater, the audience knew that an Englishman had created a great American play.

## THE AMERICAN ACADEMY IN ROME

THE accompanying illustration depicts the work of the sculptor Charles Keck, one of the exhibitors at a recent showing at the Century Club in New York City of the achievement of young architects, painters, and sculptors who are graduates of the American Academy in Rome. This collection is to be sent, we are glad to say, on tour throughout the country by the American Federation of Arts.

The American Academy in Rome is the Alma Mater not only of some promising young architects, painters, and sculptors, but also of archæologists, historians, and students of literature. The Academy now consists of two schools—its School of Fine Arts and its School of Classical Studies. The latter was founded in 1895, a year after the Academy itself (with the object of furnishing greater opportunities to architects, painters, and sculptors) was founded; the two institutions worked independently until 1912, when they were united. Although these two co-ordinate branches are called "schools," they are not schools in the commonly accepted sense. As Mr. Grant La Farge, the eminent architect and secretary of the Academy, informs us, the Academy is not for teaching rudiments, it does not have classes, nor does it even impose a very rigid prescribed course. Its beneficiaries, he says, are those who have advanced far beyond the preliminary stages in their various callings; they come to Rome for enlargement and fuller development of their knowledge and talents through first-hand contact with the records of the past.

YOUTHFUL AMERICA

For Soldiers' and Sailors' Memorial, Pittsburgh, Pa. Charles Keck, Sculptor. Palmer, Hornbostel, and Jones, Architects

Hence those familiar with the Eternal City's "records" can understand the gratitude of the fortunate fellowship holders sent out from American universities and other educational institutions who have been chosen in competitions held throughout America. As these men come from all parts of the United States, they are thrown together, as has been well said, in working out "not fellowships only but fellowship truly."

## NOTED AND RETURNED: ONE D. S. M.

ADMIRAL SIMS, Commander of American naval forces on duty in the war zone, has refused to accept a Distinguished Service Medal. The action is characteristic of Admiral Sims's independence of action, and the language in which his refusal is couched is equally characteristic of his power to hit from the shoulder.

Admiral Sims has refused the award because of his belief that naval medals for service in the war have been inequably distributed. It appears that Secretary Daniels has gone over the head of the Board which he appointed to apportion awards for naval service and has altered its recommendations.

Recommendations made by Admiral Sims have also been disregarded, and, according to his statement, awards issued to officers in a number of instances which are not in accord with the relative merit of the services performed. The most flagrant case of discrimination is cited by Admiral Sims in his letter to Secretary Daniels. He complains in this letter that officers whose ships were sunk by submarines received the same reward as

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# CARTOONS OF THE WEEK

*Cassel in the New York Evening World*

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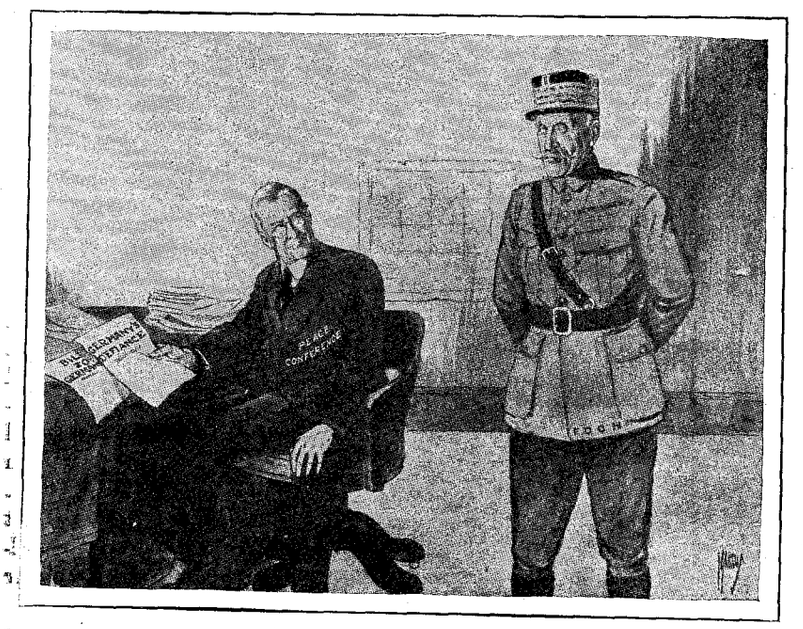
PROFIT AND LOSS!

*Fitzpatrick in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch*

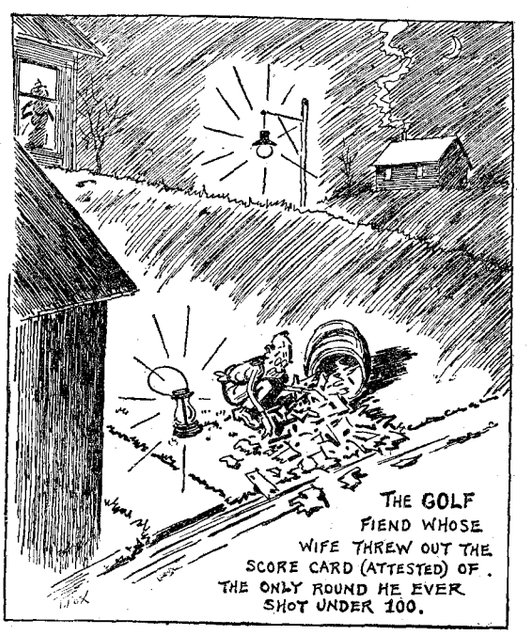
IN THE JUVENILE COURT

*Marcus in the New York Times*



Foch—"Need a bill collector?"

*Fox in the Providence Journal*




PATHETIC FIGURES

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officers whose ships sunk submarines. He says:

> The commanding officer of a vessel that is sunk by a submarine should not receive the same reward as the commanding officer of a vessel which sinks a submarine.
>
> In the case of destroyers or other vessels that were successfully attacked by German submarines, no special distinctions were recommended in my reports. These are typical examples, not only of unsuccessful actions, but of failures to injure the enemy. By reason of the peculiar nature of the submarine warfare no blame necessarily attaches to the commanding officers of these vessels for their failures, but on no account should they receive a special award for their lack of success.

Doubtless there will be many who will regard Admiral Sims's criticism as singularly indiscreet, but Admiral Sims has survived many indiscretions and has lived to be honored for them.

## A VETERAN AMERICAN COMPOSER

AMONG American musicians, Horatio William Parker, who died on December 18, was a figure of distinction and dignity. No other composer whom America has produced surpassed him in craftsmanship. It has been at times the vogue to speak lightly, or even ill, of technical excellence in music, as if it were a deadly quality. It is not so at all. The greatest of composers have been great craftsmen. And in his craftsmanship Horatio Parker followed the practices, because he understood the principles, of the great masters of music. But he was more than a craftsman. He had a creative gift. There is something in music which seems quite beyond analysis. It is that which makes one melody dead and inert, and another melody living and immortal. It is what might be called personality in musical compositions. Horatio Parker imparted to his music a personality which makes it live.

Most popularly known among his works is probably the opera "Mona." This had merits which have never been adequately recognized. It drew a prize of ten thousand dollars, but the opera has languished since its first appearance. In this work Professor Parker struck out in a new line as far as his own style was concerned; but it was not a new line in music.

Much more distinctive was his choral work. His oratorio "Hora Novissima," for which his mother wrote the English paraphase of the mediæval text, brought him reputation in Europe as well as in America. This was first performed in 1893, and has repeatedly been given in England as well as America.

Like Arthur Sullivan, Horatio Parker did not think that the writing of hymn tunes was a trifling matter. Some of the strongest hymns of the Church he set to music which choirs and congregations alike have found stirring and uplifting. And not the least among the real contributions which he has made to music have been some of his anthems, which have the dignity and lofty beauty that musicians associate with the work of Brahms, but have a character all their own.

His purely instrumental work is not so well known as his writings for the voice.

There is virtually nothing in Horatio Parker's music that distinguishes it as American. Like most of the musical art of America, it is European in spirit as well as form.

Professor Parker was at the time of his death, and had been since 1894, at the

PROFESSOR HORATIO W. PARKER

head of the Department of Music at Yale University. He received his musical education at first in Boston under George W. Chadwick and others, and afterwards in Munich, Germany. He taught in Garden City, Long Island, and the National Conservatory of Music in New York, and became organist at Trinity Church, Boston. He was recognized by honorary degrees from Yale University in America and Cambridge in England. He was a member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. He was only fifty-six at the time of his death.

## LIBERTY TO ASSASSINATE

IF the cowardly assassins who fired from ambush at Viscount French, the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, believe that Ireland will ever become an independent republic through such means, they little understand English character or the lessons of history. One of the severest blows ever given to the cause of Irish independence was the assassination in 1882 of Lord Frederick Cavendish, the Chief Secretary for Ireland, at a point only a little way distant from the scene of the attempt against General French. That this last would-be murder failed was due to accident, for it was carefully planned, and Lord French owes his life, it is said, to the fact that his train was late at the station where he alights near the Vice-regal Lodge, and that his motor car unexpectedly preceded instead of following one containing his escort.

On December 22 Mr. Lloyd George, the Prime Minister, announced the terms of the new Irish Bill; it provides separate parliaments for Ulster and for the rest of Ireland.

This arrangement is not surprising. Of course Protestant Ulster would never through force have accepted an independence in which they should be in a small minority and subject to the will of a bitterly antagonistic majority. Such a measure would divide Ireland sectionally and industrially, and on the old lines of bitter religious feeling. The Premier's proposal provides authority vested in the two legislatures to effect a union whenever they wish to have it. There would be an Irish Council elected by the two legislatures to undertake services common to the whole country. Forty-two Irish members would still sit in the Imperial Parliament at Westminster.

An idea which has been several times suggested in these columns and which was urged at one time by Winston Churchill seems to gain little ground. That idea was that there should be separate legislative bodies for the two sections of Ireland, one for Scotland, one for Wales, one for Lancashire and the north, and one for the rest of England, each of which should have control in local matters, much like that of our State legislatures, while an Imperial Parliament, in which probably Canada and other British dominions should be represented, should deal with Imperial matters.

## GENERAL FRENCH IN THE WAR

THE attack on Viscount French will undoubtedly cause a renewal of the controversy between adherents of Lord French and Lord Kitchener. It is a coincidence that just at this time there should appear a most remarkable article which bears upon one phase of this controversy. We refer to that entitled "The Great Secret," in the current issue of "Collier's," by the well-known American war correspondent William G. Shepherd.

Whatever criticisms may be made on Lord French's later generalship, it cannot be denied that he did extraordinary service to the Allies in holding back the first onrush of the Germans in Belgium. Mr. Shepherd is perfectly right in saying that

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the way in which the "old contemptibles" fought and died in that retreat makes a page of English history than which none is more glorious. The first battle of Ypres was fought in October, 1914. Most readers will be astonished to know that the British public never heard of this battle until March, 1915. Just why this concealment was made is one of the puzzles of the war. One intimation is that Kitchener was jealous of his own fame (General French was then the British Commander-in-Chief in France and Belgium), but this may have been subconscious, and there may have been other reasons. The story of the battle was first told by one or two American correspondents whose accounts were allowed to get past the then easy censorship. Even then the British papers said nothing about the battle of Ypres. Nor was there a single British press correspondent on the British front until well into the spring of 1915. Mr. Shepherd was allowed to go over as the personal guest of Lord (then Sir John) French, and the letters he sent to London for transmission to America were allowed to some extent to appear in British papers. Finally, the ice having been gently broken in this way, Mr. Shepherd was sent home from the front, and Colonel Repington, of the "Times," was allowed to go out as a press correspondent.

The importance of all this is seen when we remember the turmoil about high explosives. Kitchener was putting all his force into raising a great army; he did not realize that munitions in quantities the world had never thought of were absolutely necessary. But, more than this, he did not realize what high explosives had come to mean. He made shrapnel, and practically nothing else. The old idea of artillery was that the explosive material should be contained in a heavy shell, so that when the shell burst the pieces would be deadly missiles. But in this war the soldiers found that such terrific explosives as TNT could be put in small quantities into a tobacco can or anything else and thrown by hand into the enemy's trenches with terrific results. As has been said, the explosive provided its own material, throwing everything within twenty feet right and left with deadly effect. Instantly, almost, Germany and France saw the point; they put high explosives in light shells, thus allowing a light charge behind the shell to send it a great distance. Thus a quite new and modern use of explosives was begun and only the English were proceeding on the old plan. General French and others urged the point on Kitchener, but he simply would not or could not see it. Finally Colonel Repington told the facts in a letter to the "Times," which Lord Northcliffe, at his peril, published. That was the time when bundles of the London "Times" were burned at the street corners and Lord Northcliffe was in personal danger from British indignation. But he was right; Lloyd George came to the rescue, and he also was heartily abused in his own country; a Minister of Munitions was appointed and the matter was taken out of Kitchener's hands.

### ART AND THE CHILD

A RECENT "Bulletin" of the Worcester Art Museum contains interesting comment on the subject of art training for the child. "How shall we make children see that there is the same difference between the trivial picture . . . and the Hogarth portrait that there is between the popular song, whose vogue passes so quickly, and the melodious folk-song, made more and more harmonious through centuries of singing?" So inquires the writer of the article in the "Bulletin."

Each year our museums are doing more to meet this need; for instance, museum docent service, talks to school classes at the museum or in the schools, and story hours for the children. If the story hour served no other purpose than to bring children to the museum, it would certainly be worth while. But it does more. It both furnishes valuable background material for objects in the museum and is really a talk on art; yet, as the "Bulletin" writer says, it is "so cleverly concealed in its narrative form and so well illustrated by lantern slides that even the most precocious child will not suspect that he is being instructed."

The Worcester Art Museum has been in the forefront in the establishment of the story hour. The title of the series of stories most recently given was "Peter Goes a-Journeying: The Adventures of a Little Boy in Many Lands." Among the most successful of the stories were "Peter Sees Ashur-bani-pal Go a-Hunting at Nineveh" and "Peter in France: The Building of Chartres Cathedral."

Another long-established feature of the Worcester work is the drawing. Children may come to the Museum any day in the week and receive pencil and paper with which to sketch any object which appeals to them. The instructor helps the child to see whatever of beauty there may be in the object, and, as the "Bulletin" writer says, *to feel through his fingers while he is sketching.*

As to other endeavors, three classes were formed to pursue the study of color, the study of formal design, and the study of pictorial design. Children anywhere take to the making of mere spots of color, either different colors or spots of one color at different intensities of value. At Worcester this color work is supplemented by visits to the galleries to see colors in textiles, pottery, and painting.

## THE RIGHTS AND THE CRIMES OF SPEECH

WE print on another page a report of some proposals which have been or soon will be introduced in Congress for a repeal, a revision, or a better enforcement of the Espionage and Sabotage Laws. We here accompany this report with a brief statement of the fundamental principles by which we think the Congress and the country should be governed in legislating upon this subject.

In any case of great peril to the community, individual rights are sometimes temporarily suspended. They are sacrificed to the general welfare. Thus in a great conflagration the firemen may enter your house, drag a hose after them, deluge your rooms, injure and practically destroy your furniture. The municipal authorities may even blow up the house, if necessary, to stay the progress of the devouring flames.

So in time of war the Nation imposes compulsory service on all its citizens of military age; it prohibits public assemblies if they are deemed prejudicial to the public safety; it may forbid the carrying of arms except by soldiers in uniform; it may prohibit speeches or articles the effect of which will discourage volunteering and so impair the efficiency of the Nation in the war.

But when the special crisis is passed the reason for these exceptional limitations on liberty ceases. Society resumes its normal conditions. We consider here what are the rights of free speech in such normal conditions.

It is sometimes said that ours is a government of limited powers. This is not strictly true. The powers of the legislative, the executive, and the judicial departments of our Government are limited either by the expressed provisions of the Constitution or by its necessary implications. But there is no limitation upon the powers of the people. They may make any changes they choose in the Constitution, provided sufficient time and opportunity is given for public consideration and provided a sufficient number desire the change. Therefore there is no conceivable change in the Constitution which may not be proposed to the people for their peaceable consideration.

If a monarchist desires to get rid of the turmoil and confusion of a Presidential election, he may propose to the people to alter the Constitution and substitute for an elected President an hereditary monarch.

If an ecclesiastic thinks that the State ought to maintain public worship as it does public instruction, he may propose to the people to amend the Constitution so as to provide for an established Church.

If a Socialist thinks that Governmental

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powers should be extended and all organized industry should be carried on by the State, he may propose to the people to amend the Constitution by providing that the State shall take over and operate all the organized industries.

If a Bolshevik thinks that representative government in which all the people are represented is a failure, he may propose to the people to amend the Constitution and substitute soviet government for Congressional government.

If an Anarchist thinks that all the evils of society are due to the existence of government, that all compulsion should be abolished and every individual allowed to do as he pleases, he may propose to the people to abolish the Constitution altogether and substitute individual anarchy.

In short, any wise man may propose a wise plan and any fool may propose a foolish plan. No plan is so preposterous that it may not be proposed. The plans suggested above are so preposterous that probably no advocate could get for any one of them a considerable hearing. But the fact that a plan is preposterous is no reason why its proposal should be prohibited. It is true that there are other crises than war when this right of free discussion is for the time in abeyance. There are times when public safety demands that public assemblies should be prohibited and public speech restrained. But such prohibitions and restraints are only temporary. The justification for them passes away when the crisis which required them has passed away.

The best remedy for foolish proposals is free discussion. Repression does not suppress. Twice America has tried it and failed. The attempt to suppress free speech under the Alien and Sedition Law, in 1798, resulted in a temporary triumph of radical democracy, an attempt to overthrow the Federal courts, and a real peril to the union of the States. The attempt in 1850–60 to suppress the free discussion of slavery, in some communities by mob violence, in other communities by public opinion, only blew the fires of anti-slavery sentiment into a hotter flame. The Government of the Czar in Russia had far more power to repress free discussion than any free government possesses or ever could possess. It exercised that power; the result is—anarchy.

The deportation of alien Anarchists is not unjust and may not be unwise. But to deport a score of alien Anarchists is no more a cure for anarchy than to throw a score of burning brands into the hissing lake is a cure for combustion in the dead leaves of the forest which is threatening a forest fire. There are only two remedies for revolutionary discontent in the hearts of a people: for real grievances, justice; for fancied grievances, education.

Free speech means that any man, be he Monarchist or Socialist or Bolshevik or Anarchist, may propose any plan for peaceable consideration by his fellow-citizens. It means that any man may submit to his fellow-citizens his criticism of or his objection to any act of the administration—municipal, State, or Nation—or to any decision of any court.

But free speech does not mean that any man may propose to a group of his fellowmen to put the Constitution or the laws under that Constitution at defiance. It does not mean that he may libel or slander any of his fellow-citizens—not even those who have been elected to public office by popular suffrage! No man by taking public office loses the right to have his good name protected. Free speech does not mean the right to misrepresent the Constitution or the laws or the administration of those laws. It does not mean the right to blaspheme religion or by falsehood to inflame the passions of the mob against the institutions either of religion or of the state or of industry. It does not mean the right to incite the individual, the group, or the crowd to crimes and violence.

It is the duty of the Nation to protect the right of every man who offers for peaceable consideration by the people any proposal for which he can get a hearing; but it is not the duty of the Nation to assume that the tongue can commit no crimes nor to leave the public or the individual unprotected from crimes which the tongue commits. An ancient writer has said: "The tongue is a fire, a world of iniquity: so is the tongue among our members, that it defileth the whole body, and setteth on fire the course of nature; and it is set on fire of hell." Mother Jones is reported to have said in a public speech in Gary that she intended to raise hell in America. This is not an idle threat. Not sulphurous flames in the center of the earth, but the passions of envy, jealousy, and hate in the hearts of men, are the fires of hell. It is not difficult for men to kindle them. It is the duty of the Government to protect the community from all such fire fiends.

How to preserve both liberty of speech and the peace of the community is a difficult problem, but it will not be solved by sacrificing either the liberty of the individual or the just rights of the community. The principle which we have endeavored to elucidate and illustrate is easier of statement than of application. It may perhaps be stated thus:

It is the duty of the Government to protect the right of all its citizens to discuss peaceably any and every plan which concerns the safety and well-being of the community.

It is also the duty of the Government to protect the community and every individual in the community from speech the purpose of which is, the effect of which will be, to incite the hearers to acts of lawless violence or to crimes of any description.

We leave our readers to make their own application of these principles to the laws which are at this writing being submitted to the Congress.

## MEN ARE SQUARE

NO man has had better chance to become acquainted with radical agitation and consequent disorder than General Leonard Wood. He has been in charge of troops in disturbed regions. He has no illusions. He knows that reckless and conscienceless agitators have gained sway over the minds of masses of men. He has said so. But, at at the same time, speaking before the Legislature of Colorado, on December 18, he said:

"We have been attributing much of our unrest to the ranks of labor, but during my recent travels through the riot zones I have learned that ninety-five per cent of American workingmen are straight."

That, which Leonard Wood states as a fact, the country must accept as a basis of action, if it is to make any progress toward industrial justice and peace. Employers must believe that, if they are to deal successfully with their employees. And equally employees must believe that of employers, if they expect to secure a fairer organization of industry. The idea that "men are square"—not all men, but the great majority—is an article of faith on which all business rests. When suspicion supplants that faith in business, we have financial and commercial panics. The same faith must be exercised in the relations between capital and labor if we are to have industrial stability.

As long as the capitalist believes that the laborer is crooked and the laborer believes the capitalist is crooked, no amount of labor organization on the one side or plans for profit sharing and bonuses on the other will make the organization of industry steady and secure. If, as Mr. Price in his article in this issue says, most men in the world as it is are suspicious of their fellows, the biggest task of the capitalist is to be square himself and to persuade the workingmen that capitalists are square; and the biggest task of the labor leader is to be square himself and to persuade capitalists that labor is square. Justice is what men crave. Theodore Roosevelt was honored and accepted as a leader by his fellow-countrymen not only because he himself believed in the "square deal," but acted always on the assumption that that was what his fellow-countrymen wanted.

We believe that there is no ground for

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mutual suspicion among the great mass of Americans. There may be violent differences of opinion, low grades of intelligence, stubbornness, and short-sightedness and selfishness, without crookedness. It is not necessary to ascribe dishonesty to the man whose point of view you do not understand.

The picture reproduced on the cover of this issue of The Outlook and described in Mr. Price's article sets forth a basic American doctrine. It is that "men are square," that ninety-five per cent of Americans "are straight."

## EXTRACTS FROM THE DIARY OF A JUROR

### Monday

I ARRIVE in the court-room 9:15. Fellow-jurors drift in slowly and scatter themselves along the row of wooden chairs inside the rail that hedges in the dignity of the Court.

9:50. Clerk of the court arrives and calls the roll. He begins: Solomon Abrahams, Isaac Bremmen, Samuel Cohen, Isidore Dipstein, Michael Flaherty—several jurors crane their necks to observe this alien invader, and then the roll-call proceeds. Old American names are few and far between, and even some of those who bear them look as though they might have acquired them by another process than that of birth.

10:5. The roll-call is finished. The jurors wait for three-quarters of an hour, pondering upon the dignity of the law and the celerity of judicial procedure. Forty men times one hour divided by the cabalistic 8 of the A. F. of L. equals five days' work for one man wasted. We learned in school that mixed sums like that were not possible of solution, but doubtless the teacher, being a woman, had never served on a jury.

10:50. At last the Court enters. Jurors, attendants, and spectators stand. The Court smiles benignly, and all sit down. Lawyers appear. Their witnesses are not ready. The Court accepts their apologies. The jurors do not. A new set of lawyers appear. Their witnesses are not ready. The Court accepts their apologies somewhat less benignly. The jurors shuffle their feet and look extremely bored.

Meanwhile the wheel is spun. The names are drawn and twelve men and true find themselves impaneled and impaled in the jury-box. More lawyers arrive. Their case is ready. The Judge smiles benignly. The jury is invited to look at the defendant and the plaintiff and the lawyer. They do so, obviously not for æsthetic reasons. The lawyers are satisfied with the jury. The jury is not asked its opinion of the lawyers. The rest of the panel (it is now 11:30 A.M.) is excused until two o'clock. The jurors rush out like schoolboys securing an unexpected recess.

2:00 P.M. Roll-call. Jurors wait for an hour. No case is ready. Excused for the day.

### Tuesday

9:45. Jurors arrive and begin to swap stories with new-found acquaintances of the day before. Mr. Flaherty borrows a match from Mr. Dipstein; Mr. Dipstein borrows a cigar from Mr. Flaherty. Roll-call. It is too late to smoke, so Mr. Dipstein puts the cigar by for a rainy day. The Court enters, only half an hour late this time. Our opinion of the judiciary improves. The wheel spins. My name is called, and I ascend to the judgment seat. All the salesmen on the jury are excused. I am not a salesmen. All the jurymen who have ever brought suit against a flour merchant are excused. I have neglected to provide for such a contingency and am forced to remain silent. The survivors of this legal barrage and the new draft accept their positions in the jury-box with courage and fortitude. The case opens.

The defendant tells his story straightforwardly and backs his statements with facts and figures. The plaintiff blushes, hems and haws, and glances furtively from his lawyer to the jury and back to his lawyer again. He has a bad case, and his lawyer makes it worse by browbeating and blustering. The Judge interposes questions, cuts off futile discourse, and keeps the witnesses down to brass tacks. The drama unfolds under his skillful guidance until the tale of mercenary trickery lies clearly before us all. We retire, and the first vote is 11 to 1 for the defendant.

"Well, if you men feel that way about it," begins the dissenter, "I will vote with the rest of you."

"Don't you do it" (it's Mr. Dipstein speaking). "This is an Amurican jury and ve're here to represent de community. If you don't feel ve're right, you ain't got no business to vote with us. Now look here—" And he proceeds to expound the law according to the gospel of Mr. Dipstein until the objector holds up his hand and says:

"I guess I see your way now, gentlemen," and we file back into the court-room.

The verdict is given. The Judge remarks that "had the jury found otherwise I would have thrown the verdict out as contrary to the evidence." The defendant retires beaming, and we jurors are excused for the day, richer by the possession of twelve shining quarters and a new fund of experience and knowledge of human nature. Maybe the courts do serve a useful purpose, after all.

### Wednesday

9:45. Roll-call. Ten o'clock the Court arrives on the dot. Lawyers ready. Jury impaneled. Case opens.

10:15. Rest of the panel excused. Marvelous are the ways of the law!

2:00 P.M. The calendar is running dry. We are again excused after roll-call.

### Thursday

Preliminaries completed by 10:30. It is the last case on the calendar and I am not drawn on the jury, but I wait to hear the trial begin.

A slender, black-haired girl, Sadie Goldstein by name, is in the witness chair. She is cleanly dressed, though her black skirt is a little rusty and her gloves are worn. Her lawyer says, simply, "Tell the jury what happened," and sits down.

Sadie calmly surveys the court-room and begins, "Well, me and Jessie were walkin' through —— Street when we seen him."

"You mean the defendant?" interrupted her lawyer.

"Yes. We seen him standin' in front of his store and he had a little kid by the ear twistin' it. The kid's face was all over blood, and I went up to him and I says, 'You leave that kid alone,' and he says, 'Who the hell are you? Mind your own business.' And then I grabbed the kid, and he hit me and kicked me, and it hurt somethin' orful. And Jessie, she rushed up and hit him over the head with her umbrella and he tore her dress and kicked her, too. We was both laid up for a week, and my side hurts me yet."

"What did you do then?"

"Well, he let the kid go and ran into his store, and I went and swore out a summons and a cop went with me to serve it. But we couldn't find him, so the cop says, 'He's hidin' and he won't come out till he sees me go. You stay here till he comes out and I'll wait 'round the corner.' So I waited and his brother told me I would get hurt if I did not get out, but I stayed and I caught him as he was sneakin' out to go home when the store closed."

"That will do," said her lawyer. "Jessie Rosenberg will please take the stand."

My watch told me that it was time to leave. I bowed to Sadie as I went out as respectfully as ever a courtier bowed to his queen. She stared at me uncomprehendingly and, I must confess, suspiciously. She did not know that I was saluting in her that courage and personal initiative which we like to think of as the genius of our land. And somehow it has seemed to me since I heard her testimony in court that the least we Americans can do—Dipsteins, Flahertys, Joneses, and Cabot-Randolphs—is to stop weeping and wailing when we find a jury notice on our desks. There are many things an American juror may discover. He may even discover America.

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GEN. LEONARD WOOD, OF KANSAS

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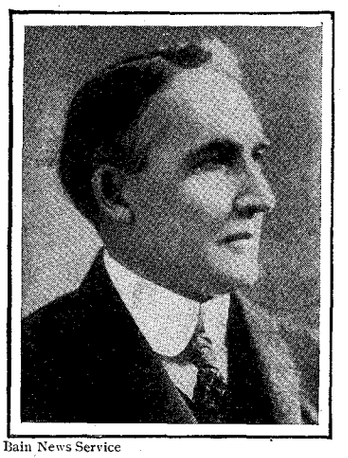
FRANK O. LOWDEN, OF ILLINOIS



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WILLIAM G. HARDING, OF OHIO

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GOV. SPROUL, OF PENNSYLVANIA

# WHO WILL BE THE NEXT PRESIDENT?

EVERY day one hears the query: "Who will be the next President?" Candidates will be nominated next June. They will be elected next November.

## Republicans

Among Republicans Leonard Wood is at present most prominent. He is fifty-nine years old, was born in New Hampshire, and had his school and college education in Massachusetts. No one, save Theodore Roosevelt (whose political heir Leonard Wood seems to be), has more strenuously than he stirred Americans to a sense of their real duty, both with regard to home preparedness and to responsibility towards those across the sea. General Wood's stalwart virility was shown in the Apache campaign, and in the Spanish War, when he was colonel of the Rough Riders, and later as Military Governor of Cuba; in his training of men at Plattsburg, and in the South and West, where he created the nucleus of a great citizen army; and, finally, in his recent control of disorder at Omaha and Gary, emphasizing both law and order and the square deal. His administrative ability was shown in the Philippines and Cuba, where he left not only public works, but also political institutions, as monuments to his genius as a nation-builder. In all parts of the country the spontaneous demand for such a candidate makes the situation now "Wood against the field."

The most highly organized of the candidacies is that of Governor Lowden, of Illinois. He is almost fifty-nine years old, was born in Minnesota, and educated at the Iowa State University, where he graduated as valedictorian, and at the Union College of Law in Chicago, where again he was valedictorian. His wife is the daughter of the late George M. Pullman. He has served creditably during several terms in Congress and has made a good Governor.

Like Governor Lowden, two other candidates—Senator Harding, of Ohio, and Governor Sproul, of Pennsylvania—would please the business interests of the country. All three men are excellent speakers and would be good campaigners. Senator Harding is fifty-four years old. He is an Ohioan by birth; he has long been in the newspaper business; he publishes the Marion "Star." Governor Sproul is about the same age and of equally impressive personal appearance. Of the three candidates, Senator Harding seems the strongest, because he is the only one of the three to come from a doubtful State. Party leaders always look for nominees who will restore doubtful States.

In the case of a deadlock between the Wood and the "Old Guard" forces, the Convention would probably turn to a man whose candidacy might insure a sweep of some doubtful States. This would happen, say their friends, if either Senator Johnson, of California, or Senator Poindexter, of Washington, were nominated. Both Senators are human and magnetic in their personal appeal. Both are wide-awake and alert. Both are progressives. Either would be a fine campaigner. But their opposition to the League of Nations and to a generous foreign policy has aroused irreconcilable hostility. Senator Johnson is fifty-five years old. He was born and educated in California. His is the most remarkable record yet made by a Governor in transforming a State from reactionary control into the forefront among progressive States. He was candidate for Vice-President on the Progressive ticket in 1912. Senator Poindexter is fifty-one years old; he was born in Tennessee and educated at Washington and Lee University, of Virginia. He showed great ability as a Congressman, and has been repeatedly elected to the Senate, where his worth has been equally evident.

Turning from the Pacific to the Atlantic seaboard, we find in Calvin Coolidge, Governor of Massachusetts, a candidate of vigor—indeed, most of the New England delegates, it is believed, have already agreed to vote for him. Like Wood, Coolidge stands for something definite with regard to a law-and-order platform, not so much because of anything said but because of something done—the short, sharp settlement of the Boston police strike. Mr. Coolidge is forty-seven years old, was born in Massa-

CALVIN COOLIDGE, OF MASS.

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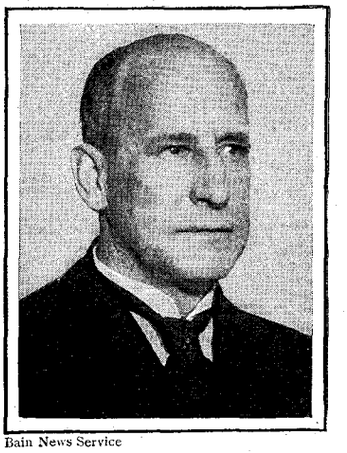
HIRAM JOHNSON, OF CALIFORNIA



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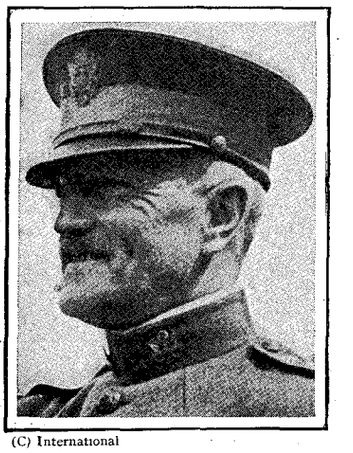
MILES POINDEXTER, OF WASHINGTON



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GEN. J. J. PERSHING, OF MISSOURI

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A. MITCHELL PALMER, OF PENNA.

chusetts and educated at Amherst, where he graduated with high honor.

Among other Republican possibilities General Pershing may be mentioned. He is fifty-nine years old and is a Missouri man by birth—and Missouri is a very doubtful State.

## Democrats

Among the Democratic candidates, the only one who has been formally proposed so far is Woodrow Wilson. The recent convention in South Dakota put itself on record as indorsing him for the Presidency, just as the Republican Convention there indorsed General Wood. Whether the President will consent to be a candidate for a third term is not now known, but prevailing opinion inclines to the belief that because of physical disability he will not. This leaves the field open to candidates who, like James W. Gerard, of New York City, propose themselves only in case the President declines to become a candidate. Mr. Gerard's recent creditable services as Ambassador to Germany are well known. He has been a Justice of the New York Supreme Court and has been Chairman of the Finance Committee of Tammany Hall. The support which Mr. Gerard is supposed to have from William Randolph Hearst as well as Tammany might turn out to be a doubtful benefit. Mr. Gerard is fifty-two years old, was born in New York State and educated there.

The other New York State candidate is ex-Secretary of the Treasury McAdoo. Some love him for the Tammany enemies he makes. Mr. McAdoo's brilliant management of the Liberty Loan has made his name honored everywhere. He is fifty-six years old and is a Georgian by birth. He was educated at the University of Tennessee and is a son-in-law of President Wilson. If the President had to choose a successor, however, he might prove to be, it is rumored, not Mr. McAdoo, as has been supposed, but Secretary of War Baker. Mr. Baker is forty-eight years old. He was born in West Virginia and educated at the Johns Hopkins University. Moving to Cleveland, he became City Solicitor and then repeatedly Mayor. Another Cabinet member during recent days has attracted notice—Attorney-General Palmer. Mr. Palmer is forty-seven years old. He is a Pennsylvanian by birth and was educated at Swarthmore College. His noteworthy Congressional experience has been quite overshadowed by his administration of the office of Alien Property Custodian and as Attorney-General in the coal strike, the packers' case, and the anti-red campaign. A fourth "Cabinet candidate," Secretary of the Treasury Glass, newly appointed Senator, is also spoken of for the Presidency. Mr. Glass acquired National reputation as the author of the Federal Reserve Act. He is sixty-three years old, a Virginian by birth, and a newspaper man.

Ohio, which furnishes the Republicans with a candidate, Senator Harding, also furnishes the Democrats a candidate, Senator Pomerene. Mr. Pomerene is one of the most active men in the United States Senate. He is an Ohioan by birth and is fifty-six years old. He is a Princeton graduate.

From a standpoint of sheer ability, what Democratic Presidential possibility surpasses Brand Whitlock, at present Ambassador to Belgium? Mr. Whitlock is also an Ohio man. He is fifty years old. He early became a newspaper reporter in Toledo, the town of which he was repeatedly to become Mayor, obtaining in that service a deservedly National reputation. He finally declined nomination for a fifth term! His foreign service has of course obtained for him an international reputation. Mr. Whitlock unites the necessary qualifications of administrative experience, together with "the international mind."

But, say his friends, so does another man closely allied with the Wilson Administration and who a year ago openly supported the President's appeal for the election of a Democratic Congress—Herbert Hoover. Mr. Hoover is only forty-three years old. He was born in Iowa and graduated from the Leland Stanford University. He has had large experience as a mining engineer on the Pacific coast, in Australia, and in China. He is best known, however, by reason of his work for Relief in Belgium, as Food Director here, and later Food Director for Europe. His defects as a public speaker would militate against him as a campaigner, but his fine administrative work is relied upon by his supporters as sufficient inducement to men to vote him into the highest office. His candidacy might, however, meet from the Bryan Democrats with some objection, which has already been aroused by the candidacy of certain other of the above-mentioned men. Indeed, Mr. Bryan, himself, might decide to run again!

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ATLEE POMERENE, OF OHIO

BRAND WHITLOCK, OF OHIO

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HERBERT C. HOOVER, OF CALIFORNIA

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# CITIZENSHIP AND THE RED MENACE

## A POLL OF CONGRESSIONAL OPINION

WHO are the Reds?

We think of them as men marching behind a red flag. The Anarchist, like the Communist, now marches behind the red flag, for his anarchism has assumed a communistic form.

It involves, nevertheless, obstruction of industry, defiance of law, and overthrow of all forms of government.

In dealing with Anarchists two things are necessary:

(1) To combat their present communism; (2) To provide at the same time for a future citizenship.

### I—HOW TO COMBAT A COMMUNISTIC REVOLUTION

Sections 4 and 6 of the Federal Criminal Code read:

> Whoever incites . . . insurrection against the authority of the United States . . . shall be imprisoned not more than ten years or fined ten thousand dollars, or both.
>
> If two or more persons conspire to overthrow the Government . . . or to oppose by force the authority thereof, . . . they shall be fined not more than five thousand dollars or imprisoned not more than six years, or both.

The so-called Espionage and Sabotage Acts may perhaps also be invoked in dealing with the situation. But as war measures they are limited to acts attending actual war.

As to alien activity in particular, the Immigration Act is invoked. It requires that Anarchists and any alien convicted of crime involving moral turpitude be deported. But many cases of anarchist propaganda do not come within the provisions of existing law.

Members of Congress have introduced bills reflecting their opinions.

#### Sedition

For instance, with varying penalties, Senators Sterling, of South Dakota, and Nelson, of Minnesota, would prohibit any person from advocating the overthrow of the Government by exhibiting any flag or emblem intended to symbolize such purpose, and especially by distributing or receiving revolutionary literature. But we have both citizen and alien reds. So, if the person convicted be an alien, he shall, in addition, be deported. In addition to deporting an alien, Mr. Nelson would deprive any guilty naturalized citizen of the citizenship certification. That person, says Representative Davey, of Ohio, is guilty of sedition who, intending to overthrow the Government, commits any act of force against any person or any property. Some people doubt whether Congress has authority to pass a law to punish any one who advises *by mere speech* the use of force to resist the Nation's authority. Senator Poindexter, of Washington, however, does not doubt the Government's authority.

#### Evasion of Military Service

Mr. Newton, of Minnesota, would close entry into the civil service and enjoyment of our unappropriated public lands to aliens who in the war failed to register for military service or claimed exemption from that service or who withdrew their "first papers" so that they might be relieved of military service. Those who claimed exemption, say Representatives Hicks, of New York, and Lufkin, of Massachusetts, should be prohibited from applying for citizenship for five years, and those who withdrew their first papers should be deported. Representatives Aswell, of Louisiana, and Kelly, of Pennsylvania, would forever exclude any such alien who has left or shall hereafter leave the United States.

#### Further Deportation

Senator Dillingham, of Vermont, would deport undesirable aliens still interned and deny readmission to them. Representative Newton would deport aliens who advocate changes in the Government. Senator King, of Utah, and Representative Johnson, of Washington, would have the Department of Justice the final arbiter, thus checking the present delay in deporting aliens, due to the difference of opinion in the Departments of Justice and Labor concerning the meaning of the deportation clauses in the Immigration Act. To judge from the arrests made, the Department of Justice believes that membership in associations which preach and teach overthrow of government, destruction of property, etc., is cause for deportation; but the Secretary of Labor, whose decision is final, thinks that the mere membership of an alien in such organizations as the I. W. W., for example, is not sufficient—that an overt act must have been committed. Americans will note with satisfaction the passage on December 20 by a unanimous vote in the House of Mr. Johnson's bill to exclude those aliens who operate through revolutionary organizations.

#### Sabotage

Conviction of criminal syndicalism should be punished by severe penalties, say Representative French, of Idaho, and Representatives Kelley and Newton. Sabotage, Representative Kelley, of Michigan, calls "criminal syndicalism," or any method of terrorism for accomplishing industrial, social, or political changes.

### I—HOW TO MAKE BETTER CITIZENS

#### Admission of Aliens

Representative Johnson would forbid immigration for two years, "regardless of who digs the ditches." Senator Dillingham would limit immigration of any foreign nationality for any year to five per cent of the number of persons of such nationality resident in the United States. This might give us more Germans than would be welcome just now.

#### Passports

When it was seen that the passage of the above measures was not assured, Representative Johnson introduced a bill, promptly passed by Congress, extending to March 4, 1921, the war-time regulations governing the issuance of passports, a measure recommended by Secretary Lansing, so as to prevent extreme radical aliens from rushing here immediately after the formal declaration of peace.

#### Citizenship

We have now some 11,000,000 aliens. Of these only about 2,500,000 have declared their intention of becoming citizens. One reason for this high percentage of undigested immigrants is to be found in the fact that ship-owners have connived at infractions of the immigration laws, and Representative Siegel, of New York, would provide heavier penalties for such persons. Senator McKellar, of Tennessee, would shorten the time of probation before citizenship can be secured to three years, but he would not permit aliens to reside here longer than five years without becoming naturalized, those denied naturalization to be deported within thirty days after such rejection.

#### Americanization

Representative Welty, of Ohio, would charge every alien $1 to defray expenses in conducting public school classes, the payments to stop after five annual payments have been made. Senator McKellar would require all aliens to learn the English language five years after they land, and where any employer employs thirty or more non-English-speaking aliens would have him provide an hour's instruction five days a week for six months for each. To this end Senator Hoke Smith, of Georgia, and Representative Towner, of Iowa, would have the Federal Government spend $100,000,000 a year, to be divided among the States, for education, a specific part of the sum to go to teach immigrants the English language and the spirit and purpose of our Government.

Last week the transport Buford started across the Atlantic from the Port of New York, carrying two hundred and forty-nine alien revolutionaries, including Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman, who have been here for a generation. But the problem remains; and Congress, in the measures described above, is trying to solve it.



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# LESSONS FROM THE BRITISH RAILWAY STRIKE

## SPECIAL CORRESPONDENCE

In two respects Dr. Tippy, who sent us this correspondence, is especially qualified to speak as an observer of the events he describes. In the first place, he writes as only one who is on the ground at the time can write. In the second place, he has brought to his observation a wide experience in the study of social conditions and in the service of social improvement. As the minister of a church he made his own influence and the influence of his church felt in the community, and now as Secretary of the Commission on the Church and Social Service (which is one of the commissions of the federal organization of Protestant denominations in America known as the Federal Council) he has enlarged both his experience and his service. This testimony from him is of special value because in the railway strike in England the people there faced the same problem which we have been facing in the coal strike and in the once threatened and not impossible railway strike here. It is a wise people that learns from the experience of others.—THE EDITORS.

THE recent strike of the employees of the British railways was the most critical situation in the industrial history of Great Britain. It combined two drastic features—the tying up nationally of a key industry which paralyzed all industry, and what is known in Great Britain as the "lightning strike." It was given on a day's notice. The men frankly hoped to force their demands by the paralysis of industry and the imminence of starvation.

I do not desire to go into the merits of the points at issue beyond saying that the railway men had serious grievances, and had been greatly irritated by the dilatory and evasive tactics of the Government, but rather to point to certain outstanding results of the conflict which have value to America, and to express my admiration for the self-control and good humor of the people of Great Britain, including the men themselves, the Government, and the people at large, during those trying days.

There is no doubt that the strike was forced at the last moment by extremist leaders of the unions. Mr. Cramp said in the opening days of the strike that the center of gravity in Great Britain had passed from Parliament to the trade union headquarters. He soon learned that this was not true, and that once an issue was drawn public opinion would solidify on the other side. Mr. Thomas, a very able and experienced leader, was on the point of resigning when the issue was forced, but fortunately he kept to his post.

The incidents of the strike itself were intensely dramatic. Probably nothing cost the railway men more in public confidence than the stoppage of trains at a certain hour wherever they might be, while the crews were taken away in automobiles, leaving passengers, including mothers with babies, and trains of live stock stranded in the country. People were more aroused by the helplessness of dumb beasts than by the privations of human beings, who, after all, had freedom of movement and could finally help themselves. The provisions by which the Government met the need of transportation are familiar. I saw the milk lorries in Hyde Park and the improvised headquarters at Grosvenor House. Nobody could have anything but appreciation and admiration for the measures by which the Government protected the people, including the families of the strikers themselves, unless he were narrowly class conscious and were willing that the people should starve.

Two or three outstanding effects became quickly apparent, and their significance is so great that one is inclined to think that the strike was a blessing to Great Britain. The first was that when the men once got into the strike they drew back as from an abyss. They realized as they had not before what it meant to array themselves against the nation, and I think also that they saw clearly that a strike of that character cannot go far unless it results in a surrender or a compromise without precipitating extreme action with probable revolutionary fighting. Mr. Thomas said after it was over that the nation had been nearer to civil war than it had ever been before. Henceforth in Great Britain those who propose the lightning strike for a national key industry, or a general strike of national industries, will look into this abyss and count the cost before they act.

That the workers of Great Britain sought an understanding with the Government, that the committee of fifteen representing the other two organizations of the triple alliance, instead of bringing in the miners and the transport workers and precipitating a general strike, became a committee of conciliation, is an evidence of the good sense and patriotism of the British workers.

The second result of the strike was that it united the unorganized mass of citizens who seem never able to act together, that it gave them the will to defend themselves and the nation as a whole, and revealed a way that lifted up a new ethical standard of public welfare which any economic group will be slow to violate in the future.

But possibly the greatest lesson that the people learned was that there must be a new day in the social life of Great Britain—a day in which the workers are given greater economic independence, greater recognition in the social life of Great Britain, and vastly greater influence in the control of industry and of the Government. There must be a higher standard of living for the workers than that which obtained before the war. If these things are not recognized, and especially if they are obstructed, the organized workers will force their recognition by one means or another. It seemed to me quite clear, after a wide reading of the public press and from many private conferences, that in their demands for a higher standard of living and a far greater control in the industries the men had the sentiment of Great Britain with them.

The general strike on a nation-wide scale or a national strike in a key industry such as the railways, and especially the lightning strike, are terrible weapons. They should be used only as a last resort and in industrial controversies where the right is clearly on the side of the workers. Otherwise the general strike becomes a social menace and the people will be forced in self-defense to unite against it.

I became convinced as I watched the British strike that there can be no unlimited right to strike when it ties up a nation. It is wrong for one group to inflict such hardships upon the entire population to gain its own ends, even if those ends are just. Some other effective way must be found to protect the workers. That way is to be found along the line of legislative action, collective bargaining, participation of labor in management, and the education of public opinion. If the state limits the use of the strike, it is bound to secure to labor an effective legalization of its rights.

That labor itself in Great Britain realizes some of these things is shown by the words of Mr. Thomas, who led the strike, before a meeting of workers in Albert Hall on Sunday night, October 6, in which he announced the settlement.

Mr. Thomas said that when the strike was called he knew that there could be nothing more dangerous or more calculated to imperil the life of the state than to enter into a war in which one section of the community was at war with the community as a whole. He recognized that in a challenge to the state, whichever side won, disaster must follow. If those who challenged won, then the only alternative would be the end of constitutional government. If, on the other hand, the state won, then there must follow bitterness and ill feeling, which would be a danger to the community. He recognized that citizenship was greater than any sectional interest, and therefore, when the fight began, he determined to make it a struggle on a purely economic question. The railway men had no quarrel with the Constitution of the country, but, although they were nominally servants of the Government, they were as much entitled to demand from the Government the same fair conditions of labor as workers were entitled to demand from any private employer.

WORTH M. TIPPY.



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# "MEN ARE SQUARE"

## A STUDY OF PROFIT SHARING AND INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY

### BY THEODORE H. PRICE

We might as well sit up straight and look facts in the face, gentlemen. The laboring men of the world are not satisfied with their relations with their employers. Of course I do not mean to say that dissatisfaction is universal dissatisfaction, but I am now speaking of the general relations between capital and labor. Everywhere there is dissatisfaction, much more on the other side of the water than on this side.

One point I wish to make is that the world is looking to America to set the standards with regard to the conditions of labor or the relations between capital and labor, and it is looking to us because we have been more progressive in those matters. We have got to have a constructive programme with regard to labor, and a method by which we will relieve the strain of what you can call the cost of living.

I am not dogmatic about this matter. I can't presume that I know how it should be done. I know the principle upon which it should be done. The principle is that the interest of capital and the interest of labor are not different, but are the same.

You can't any longer regard labor as a commodity. You have got to regard it as a means of association, and when that is done the production of the world is going to go forward by leaps and bounds.

Why is it that labor organizations seriously limit the amount of work they have in hand to do? It is because they are driving hard bargains. They don't feel that they are your partners at all. And so long as labor and capital are antagonistic, production is going to be at its minimum. Just so soon as they are sympathetic and co-operative, it is going to abound, and that will be one of the means of bringing down the cost of living.—*From President Wilson's Speech at St. Paul last September.*

Millions of gallant young men have fought for the new world. Hundreds of thousands died to establish it. If we fail to honor the promise given them, we dishonor ourselves.

What does the new world mean? What was the old world like? It was a world where toil for myriads of honest workers, men and women, purchased nothing better than squalor, penury, anxiety, wretchedness; a world scarred by slums, disgraced by sweating, where unemployment, through the vicissitudes of industry, brought despair to multitudes of humble homes; a world where, side by side with want, there was waste of the inexhaustible riches of the earth, partly through ignorance and want of forethought, partly through entrenched selfishness.

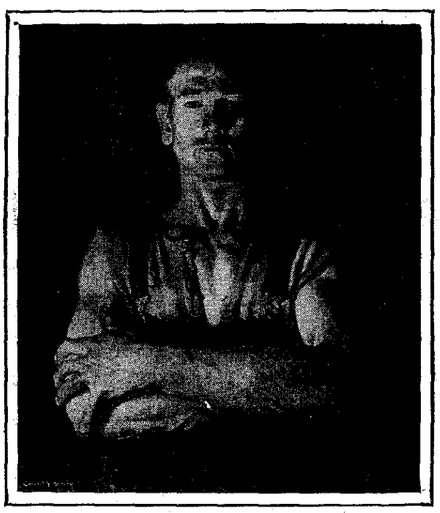
If we renew the lease of that world, we shall betray the heroic dead. We shall be guilty of the basest perfidy that ever blackened a people's fame. Nay, we shall store up retribution for ourselves and our children.

The old world must and will come to an end. No effort can shore it up much longer. If there be any who feel inclined to maintain it, let them beware lest it fall upon them and overwhelm them and their households in ruin.

It should be the sublime duty of all, without thought of partisanship, to help in the building up of the new world, where labor shall have its just reward and indolence alone shall suffer want.—*Lloyd George's Message to "the People of Great Britain," September 13.*

WHEN, last May, at the suggestion of The Outlook's editors, I determined to write upon "Profit Sharing and Industrial Democracy," I printed a notice asking those Outlook readers who had personal knowledge of any plans that aimed to give employees a voice in the management and a share in the profits of industrial enterprise to supply me with a brief statement outlining the plans and describing the effect of their adoption in so far as it was ascertainable.

The many letters and the quantity of printed matter that I have received in response to this request evidence the wide public interest in the question, and as it is impossible for me in the space at my disposal to mention or deal with every communication that has come to me, I shall have to content myself with thanking the writers collectively for the help which they have given me. Briefly, the profit-sharing schemes run all the way from one that provides for an equal division of all earnings of the business between the owners and the employees in the proportion that the capital employed bears to the wages annually paid, to others that simply contemplate assisting the employees to become stockholders in the business by loaning them part of the money required for the purchase of stock. Between these two extremes are the plans that are designed to stimulate thrift by adding to what the employee invests in the stock of the employing corporation a specific bonus that makes the return upon the investment far greater than could be otherwise obtained with safety.



"MEN ARE SQUARE"

From a painting (copyrighted) by Gerrit A. Beneker, 1919, painted in the factory of the Hydraulic Pressed Steel Company, Cleveland, Ohio, as an expression of the mutual trust between employer and employee, which makes Hydraulic "more than a place to work." Awarded first prize ($100) in the industrial class of paintings in an exhibition of work by Cleveland artists in the Cleveland Museum of Art, May 1–June 29, 1919.

The many plans for the democratization of industry that have been tried exhibit a similar variation. Probably the most radical is the one advocated by John Leitch in his book called "Man to Man," which provides that the entire management of the business should be intrusted to three co-ordinate bodies—a cabinet consisting of the executive officers, a senate composed of the foremen or departmental chiefs, and a house of representatives whose members are elected by the employees from among their own numbers. The scheme is an elaborate one and appears to have been introduced with good results in several important establishments. In the authority given to the cabinet, senate, and house of representatives the aim seems to have been to follow the Constitution of the United States and set up a form of corporate government that is analogous to the Federal Government in many respects.

Other schemes that are less radical contemplate the creation of "Works Councils," "Workmen's Advisory Boards," "Shop Committees," "Self-Governing Boards," "General Assemblies," etc., through which the management tries to keep in touch with the employees and get their point of view upon any question that may arise.

In addition to the many and diversified plans for sharing profits and giving employees a greater or less voice in the management that have been devised there are others that provide for the adoption of the index number wage, old age pensions, group life insurance, home building and ownership with the assistance of the employer, sick benefits, with medical attendance, Americanization and the education of employees' children, the training of apprentices, and much of eleemosynary or semi-philanthropic work whose purpose it is to make the employee more contented, efficient, and intelligent and to increase his loyalty to the employer.

One of the most interesting of these adventures in what may be called corpo-



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rate idealism is the effort that the Hydraulic Pressed Steel Company of Cleveland is making to educate and enthuse its employees by the use of pictorial art. To this end they have employed an artist of distinction, Mr. Gerrit A. Beneker, to paint pictures that glorify the various processes of their work and the men engaged in it. The idea seems to be that these pictures, one of which, entitled "Men Are Square," is reproduced with this article, will lead the men to feel a new consciousness of the dignity and responsibility of their labor, and a pride in it that will attach and hold them to it.

It is Mr. Beneker's belief that "art is a constructive force" that should be utilized in industry, and he has an article under this caption in the "American Magazine of Art" for last August that I recommend to the perusal of all those who are interested in the labor problem, whether they share his idealism or not.

This necessarily brief review of the material placed at my disposal serves to show the thought that American employers have already given to the labor problem and the diverse methods by which its solution has been sought. To say that any one of them was wholly adequate or inadequate or to attempt a necessarily invidious comparison between them would be highly presumptuous.

It is to be observed, however, that all of the plans introduced have been devised by the employers; that the employees, when left to themselves, have generally been disposed to form trade unions or to join unions already formed; and that the object of the employers has been to offer inducements or provide benefits that will offset those of the unions, weaken their power, and prevent their growth.

The unions are nevertheless constantly increasing their membership, and the history of trade-unionism does not encourage the expectation that it is a movement that can be definitely checked, although it may of course be retarded either by opposition or, as in the case of some recent strikes, by the unwisdom or selfishness of its leaders.

If we grant that trade unions are undesirable and that it is politically possible to interdict or prevent their existence in a democracy, then the study of an alternative arrangement under which the rights of both the employer and the employee will be protected is worth while, but as long as the right of labor organization is admitted, as it is to-day, it would seem to be futile to hope that any profit-sharing scheme, however attractive, or any plan of joint management, however equitable, will be long acceptable to the workers as a substitute for the opportunity of self-expression and self-assertion that they think they obtain through the unions. For it is, I think, a mistake to assume that higher wages or increased comfort are what the worker is principally contending for through organization or personal effort.

A consciousness of liberty and social independence is more important to him than more pay, and he values the right to say "I will" or "I won't" more than all the comforts and benefits that the company is willing to give him upon condition that he remains in its employment.

This may seem foolish, but it is the fact, and all of us at times in our lives have made great sacrifices for "the glorious privilege of being independent." It is this American desire for independence that makes our women unwilling to be household servants at wages that will net them far more than they obtain in the shops or factories in which so many of them work; and it is the fear that they will forfeit their independence by supporting organizations that are set up by their employers that leads so many wage-earners to be lukewarm in their enthusiasm for an industrial democracy that is not of their own creation.

There is a feeling that the employer is actuated chiefly by self-interest in forming these organizations; that all or much of what they offer will be sacrificed by the employees who leave him, and that under the guise of philanthropy there is an endeavor to establish a form of industrial servitude that may become oppressive as its beneficiaries become older and less valuable, and that upon the whole, as one of them put it to me, "a wage in the hand is worth two in the bush."

That there is some foundation for this suspicion must be admitted, for in every one of the profit-sharing schemes that I have examined there is some provision that is designed to deter the employee from quitting his job voluntarily.

It is also to be noticed that all the plans thus far devised contemplate some division of the *profits*, but that none of them provide for a division of the *losses;* that they are therefore essentially inequitable, and that it is extremely doubtful whether they would survive the period that is sure to come when business may be unprofitable.

In Utopia, where hard times are unknown and all men are equally and superlatively intelligent and trustful of each other, an industrial democracy governing itself and dividing the profits of its labor equitably might be successful and permanent; but with humanity as it is in the United States, I am disposed to think that it is an evanescent dream that will vanish as soon as production overtakes consumption and the supply of labor is in excess of the demand.

This had not been my opinion until recently, for I was at first attracted and fascinated by the material benefits that many of the plans offered and the experience of certain employees who had taken full advantage of their provisions; but as I came to examine them carefully I have been brought to the conclusion that with the world as it is, with most men suspicious of their fellows, and especially of their employers, the wage-earners will continue to believe that "if self the wavering balance shake, it's rarely right adjusted," and insist upon correcting the maladjustment by methods entirely of their own selection.

If I am right in this conclusion, then the best solution of our problem is to be found by accepting the principle of trade-unionism, but restricting its application by the passage of laws that will bring it within the jurisdiction of the courts and make it impossible for it to set up a government within a government, as it has more than once attempted to do in the past.

The first step in this direction would be Federal charters for all trade unions, granting them certain limited powers and punishing them and their members if any attempt were made to exceed these powers. The names of their members should be published, the procedure by which their officers were elected and their right to represent the membership should be a matter of public record, and boycotting and intimidation should be vigorously punished.

Collective bargaining should be permitted under a provision that would guarantee that the bargains made would be kept, but the right to limit the number of apprentices or the amount of work that any member might perform for a specified wage should be denied. In other words, the right of combination should be recognized, but the abuse of the power that combination gives should be prevented.

This is, I think, politically practicable, and if it is done it would then be possible for the employers to arrange a *modus vivendi* with the unions in pursuance of which profit-sharing schemes that would stimulate efficiency could be adopted subject to a union audit that would inspire confidence in the basis upon which profits were calculated, and an index number wage that would work an automatic adjustment between the pay that labor received and the purchasing power of money might also be introduced.

That the power the unions wield is now often unwisely and sometimes immorally or criminally used is admitted, but that they express the universal and irrepressible instinct of mankind for self-determination and self-government must also be admitted. The statesman of exalted view and unprejudiced mind will therefore try to direct this instinct in the interest of society while restricting the power that the organizations it has brought into being have acquired through a development that has hitherto been extra-legal, if not illegal, in many of its aspects.

If the unions were thus dignified and made responsible, it is altogether probable that broad-minded and public-spirited men would be attracted to their leadership, and that in such hands a spirit of co-operation with capital could be evoked.

I submit the foregoing with diffidence, but out of a sincere desire to be constructive rather than critical in my treatment of a problem that calls for the broadest possible treatment. In my consideration of the subject I have been much enlightened by the letters, pamphlets, and publications that I have received. I am greatly indebted to those who have sent them to me.

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# THE AMERICAN SENATE, MEXICO, AND THE TREATY OF PEACE

## BY JOSÉ CASTILLEJO

The author of this interesting commentary on the present international position of the United States is a Spanish liberal and student of public affairs who is engaged in the work of university extension in Spain. He visited the United States last summer as the official delegate of the Ministry of Public Instruction of the Spanish Government for the purpose of studying the American system of education. What he has to say is of especial interest because it is a realization of Robert Burns's wise aspiration: "O wad some power the giftie gie us to see oursels as others see us!"—THE EDITORS.

I

WHEN President Wilson came to Europe, invoking ideals of international justice, and with a generous renunciation of all thought of gain, the prestige of the United States in the world reached a level perhaps never attained by any other country.

When President Wilson returned to America with a Treaty of Peace made after the old custom of haggling and bargaining between the conquerors, the United States appeared as a generous mediator which has succeeded only in establishing a precarious truce.

Later, the discussions in the Senate of the United States produced the lugubrious impression that some citizens of that country have forgotten the ideals of humanity which inspired them to take part in the war, or that subsequent to the victory they have succumbed to an egotistic weakness and the compunctions of fear.

The United States did not enter the war in defense of this or that nation, but that the peace of the world might not be dependent upon the arbitrament of force. The Monroe Doctrine, which was in its origins a justified precaution against the colonizing greed of European nations, thus lost its selfish and uncompromising aspect. The United States, far from keeping itself aloof from the sorrows of humanity, wished to be a participant in a new international life and a co-worker in the establishment of a new law of right and wrong, which could be possible only after the destruction of militarism.

The central idea was the League of Nations; that is, a society of free peoples, subjected to laws of respect, cooperation, and mutual assistance, similar to those which bind together the free individuals of a democratic nation. It was characterized by the desire to apply to nations the principles of personal liberty and social cohesion which perhaps no race has been better able to combine than the Anglo-Saxon peoples.

Wilson saw before long that the Peace Conference was going to fall far short of those ideals. It tended in its methods and solutions of problems to be an agreement between conquerors; it imposed material reparations, but left the old hatreds lying dormant; it rejected the proposal of an international police force; and as a means to avoid new wars, it had nothing better to offer than the alliances and combinations based on force which had been the very cause of struggles in the past.

This must have been a moment of grievous uncertainty for Wilson. If he had collected his troops and returned to America, refusing to have a share in a Treaty from which he expected no material gain and which did not admit of the incorporation of his ideals, this retirement of the Americans, carried out in the name of the same principles which drew them into the struggle, would have augmented more and more the prestige of the United States.

Wilson preferred to bargain, wishing above all to salvage an attempt at a League of Nations, however modest it might turn out to be. But in this case it was evident that with the proposal of an international police force rejected, all hope rested on two conditions: the maintenance of certain principles of justice superior to all national sovereignty; and the solidarity of all civilized peoples, pledged to bring in every way their influence and power to bear upon the defense of those principles. The United States, guided solely by ideal interests, appeared to be appointed to maintain that position in the world.

The discussion in the Senate represents in this respect a great disillusionment. The frank mistrust of the League of Nations is in the international order a close approximation to the anarchistical point of view. Wilson, on the other hand, in his hearing before the Senate Committee and in his speeches, has been perhaps too timid and has made dangerous concessions.

Thus the highest authorities of the United States seem to establish the following principles: first, the obligations of the League of Nations are purely moral, leaving it to the conscience of each country whether they are to be fulfilled or not; secondly, the League of Nations cannot intervene in the internal affairs of any state, considering as "internal" all those questions which have not been expressly placed under the jurisdiction of the international society; thirdly, America disclaims all interest in international conflicts, from which she neither expects material advantages accruing to herself nor fears any harm.

Although this League of Nations, limited in its functions to the giving of advice and the exercise of moral influence, could not be absorptive and centralizing, the Senate still wishes to separate from it the "internal" affairs of each state.

Let the American people observe the consequences of this doctrine when applied to some problems of the present day. Can the Senate deny that any nation may consider as an "internal affair" the punishment of crimes committed by its own citizens in its own territory? Then the expeditions against the Mexican bandits stand condemned. Does the Senate stress as an "internal affair" immigration and reserve to itself the right to enact restrictive legislation against the Chinese, Japanese, Polish, and Italian immigrants? Then Carranza, the great humorist, need only copy in Mexico the laws of the United States in order to free himself from the invasion of North American merchants and speculators. He has already declared that if they do not wish to be assassinated the best thing for them to do would be to stay away. Can the United States or England, if it wishes, nationalize its mines and railways? Then Mexico can in the same way nationalize its oil wells. It is impossible for an assembly like the American Senate to establish principles of international justice which permit of interpretation in its favor alone.

Finally, according to the third principle, if the conflicts, injustices, and international outrages which do not affect its material interests are to be of no import to the United States, it denies the position of human solidarity which brought about its entry into the war and takes the official position of neutral countries after the manner of Spain, for whose sordidness in this instance the North American public has well-merited contempt.

Can there be a civilized, cultured nation, inspired by humanitarian ideals, which would remain indifferent in conflicts where international justice is at stake? Or is one to suppose that a nation of a hundred million souls is overcome with fear at being required to give its opinion in matters which affect other countries?

The obvious conclusion would be that the United States wishes to refrain from interfering in European politics (an intention now, of course, too late for it to express), in return for which the great Powers of Europe are to give it a free hand in America. And then the whole world will ask itself what the United States intends to do in America which it wishes to exclude beforehand from the control of the other civilized peoples.

Thus the discussion in the Senate imperils two great supports of the moral prestige of the United States which the American people ought to preserve intact: one is the generosity and fine sentiment which moved them to intervene in the



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European war; the other is the purity of their intentions with respect to Mexico and the other American states.

II

The United States has a perfect right to intervene in Mexico or in any other country. Even more, under certain conditions it may be its duty to intervene. There are no absolute sovereignties, neither for individuals nor for nations. All sovereignty is submitted to rules which humanity is slowly discovering and clarifying. At every period of history there exists a certain minimum level of culture and governmental efficiency. When a country does not attain to this, its independence cannot be a letter of marque, either for crimes against persons or for setting up unjust monopolies of wealth, nor even for a severance of its relations with other peoples.

But being a limitation of the most sacred rights, that of personality and that of liberty, intervention needs the support of essential assumptions and guarantees.

Above all, it presupposes the formation of a sufficiently mature international public conscience. The civilized peoples, and even the sane portion of the Mexican nation, must come to the conclusion that when the internal government lacks the requisite strength the situation demands a remedy from without.

Further, in the case of intervention, the United States should act as a mandatory for the League of Nations. He who offers himself as a voluntary executioner surrenders his authority. The United States might perhaps ask of the Spanish-American republics that they intervene, offering them material supplies, the cost of which Mexico would eventually have to pay. If the Central and South American republics refused that mission, the United States would be able to undertake it with all the authority of a judge.

Finally, in order to sustain that authority, the intervention in Mexico would have to be as generous as was the intervention in Cuba; carried out in the first instance for the benefit of Mexico itself. The United States should, aside from the just indemnities, not gain from it any other advantage than that which is naturally derived from the conversion of a turbulent neighbor into a peaceful friend.

The great majority of the people of the United States are inspired with sentiments of liberty and justice for all peoples. It is therefore certain that that democratic country will correct the doctrines expounded in the Senate. Instead of being a safeguard for the United States, these doctrines are a danger to its prestige and a mortgage on its future liberty of action. As always, the most idealistic position is in the end also the most advantageous.

Madrid, November, 1919.

# THE DOER

## BY ANGELA MORGAN

(Written in appreciation of the work of Frank Julian Sprague)

While poets praised the whirlwind and the wild
Impatient powers of the firmament,
He called the thunder to him as a child,
Summoned the lightning from the way it went,
Captured the forces of the earth and sky
For men to travel by.
A new Saint Francis, knowing subtle speech
To beckon winged creatures out of reach;
Bidding the tempests like obedient birds
Perch on his shoulder, listen to his words,
Hearing their secrets, to be told again
To the glad world of men.

With testing, reverent hands and seeing eyes,
Glimpsing his God through steel and wire and wood,
He lured the splendors out of paradise,
Prisoned the comet's fire for human good,
Loosing the strands of Berenice's hair
To link the paths of men and make them fair.
Man or magician, saint or sorcerer,
Whether in league with Jove or Lucifer,
The dark inferno answers to his mind
And harnessed Satan toils for humankind.
World, bring him your gifts of purest worth
Who builds the eternal city here on earth!

# A BATTER'S LANE ULYSSES

## BY ELSIE SINGMASTER

INSIDE the little house the voice went on and on. Annie Wells, the niece-in-law of old Simmy, who balanced himself on two legs of his chair against the porch pillar, talked as she breathed, unconsciously, regularly, unceasingly. Simmy could see her against the inner surface of his sleepy eyes—large, red-haired, energetic, bending over a wash-tub, while she talked to a neighbor from the other end of Batter's Lane who had come to borrow an egg. Her high voice was monotonous, but her choice of subjects was varied. Uncle Simmy smiled sleepily.

"I said to her when she stood there in that doorway"—Simmy could actually feel the spray of soapsuds from a motioning arm—"I said to her, 'Did you ever see the inside of an old wooden bucket what had had water in it for a couple of weeks? Slimy,' I said, 'perhaps green.' Then I said to her, 'Did you ever see the inside of an iron bucket what had had water standing in it? Red, rusty, wasn't it? Well,' I said, 'I leave you to draw your own conclusions about them that drink water entirely, miss.'"

"And right you are!" cried Mrs. Fitch with enthusiasm. She was little and thin, and she gave a tiny leap with the opening of each sentence. "I tell you the workingman ain't—"

Annie cared nothing for the opinions of Mrs. Fitch; she cared only to express her own, even when they were, as at present, the eloquent invention of the moment. Nothing, so far as Uncle Simmy knew, had ever brought her to pause except irresistible drowsiness.

"That was last week, and the week before it was another. Right there she stood in the same place and asked would I join the Red Cross." Annie put a heavy emphasis on "red." "I said to her, no, I wouldn't, and I give my reasons. I said here was the camp and here was my sister Sally, that had a beau from the camp. Didn't I cook for him more than once? Well, when he had loaned ten dollars off Sally, what did she find? That he had his wife workin' in the furniture factory. That is what she found. No Red Cross for me, or black one, either. I—"

"It's the truth," agreed Mrs. Fitch, with a little jump. "I tell you—"

"Then another came. Would I let my children come on Saturday mornings to get taught to garden? I showed her the door. I said I raised my children for my own accommodation, not to help others earn their livings. I said—"

Old Simmy dozed off. His position looked perilous, but he had held it safely through many hours of sleep. Often passers-by looked at him, recognizing a vague resemblance to something or some one they had known. He heard in his dreams the neighbor depart, he heard a wash-basket dragged over the door-sill and loud exclamations as a clothespin slipped from a wet hand or as the line threatened to sag. He remembered after a long time that soon Tom would be coming home to dinner. Annie was mad at Tom, and she would fall upon him with

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loud denunciations. Drowsily Simmy opened his eyes. Tom was too easy-going. If he gave Annie one good thrashing in the good old way, his troubles would cease, Simmy himself had never been married, but he had long ago heard his father discuss marital discipline without realizing that his lofty precepts were always uttered when there were no women about. This easiness formed the only source of Simmy's anxiety about Tom. At present, by virtue of his own small pension paid regularly into Annie's hand, he kept her from abuse beyond a certain point; but he could not live forever. He shook his head as he remembered the vituperation which had accompanied the morning departure. Annie was thrifty, and Tom, though attentive to the present, was as indifferent to the future as the fabled grasshopper. His laziness was partly congenital and partly due to Annie's persistence in continuing the hard labor of her single days in order to purchase unnecessary luxuries.

"You earn only seven dollars a week at the brickyard. It's piece-work. You could earn ten."

"Now, Annie, I work hard. We get along good."

But Annie would not be mollified. She had advised him not to come back, she had said she didn't care if she never saw him again—indeed, that she would rather never see him again. He had looked at his uncle, so Simmy believed, in desperation, and old Simmy had difficulty to keep from crying aloud, "One good slap'll settle it, Tommy; it won't take more than one." But he held his tongue.

Presently another neighbor came into the yard, passed the sleeping figure and went into the kitchen, and Annie went on talking.

"It's always something. They came round to collect for the civic nurse, and I said this was too much. I said the civic nurse was for nothing but to take the money of the poor. The civic nurse told Mrs. Fitch to wash her children's faces—that was enough for me. I'm the boss of my children, I am."

"I heard you got a new table," said sharp-eyed Mrs. Gill. She had come, not to hear Annie talk, but to see if the table was as fine as Mrs. Fitch had said, and she was to have a far more exciting experienee than the envious inspection of atable.

"You can open the door and look in. I said to this woman that there would be less trouble in this world if each person would mind his or her own business. I said—"

"Look here!" cried Mrs. Gill in a loud voice.

Annie stopped speaking as suddenly as though a torrent hung in its fall. The cessation of sound woke Simmy and in vague alarm he dropped the front legs of his chair and rose. Approaching the kitchen door, he beheld a startling tableau. Annie lay upon the floor whence she had let herself drop with the secure abandon of a tragedienne. She held in her hand a paper found by Mrs. Gill pinned to the new table-cover of the new table.

"He's left!" announced Mrs. Gill.

"What?" cried old Simmy. While Mrs. Gill brought a quart cup filled with water from the sink with which to revive his niece-in-law, he read the awkward writing on the piece of wrapping paper. There were but four words in a hand which he knew:

"I have went off."

The deluge from the quart cup and her uncle's loud encouragement brought Annie back. She sat up and looked about.

"He hasn't gone to stay," insisted Simmy. "He hasn't gone far. He won't stay long."

Mrs. Gill helped Annie to a reclining position on the old lounge. She had a taste for the dramatic, and since Annie's sister Sally's quarrel with her beau little had happened in Batter's Lane. She was certain that Tom had gone to commit suicide, and she saw herself, as the discoverer of the intention, interviewed by reporters and her picture snapped for the Sunday paper. She was dying to start forth at once and publish the news of the tragedy, but she believed that more could be gained by staying where she was.

"You poor soul!"

Annie burst into tears.

"With two children!"

Mrs. Fitch, returning to her own house after having paid another call a little farther on, stopped in the doorway.

"What is the matter?"

"Tom has left. He put a note on the table."

"Left!" Mrs. Fitch came in hurriedly with a little skip, but kept herself between Mrs. Gill and the door. Mrs. Gill should not get out first.

"He's coming back, of course he's coming back!" said Simmy. "He never said he was going to stay."

The women looked at him as though he had had something to do with the departure.

"How do you know?" asked Mrs. Gill.

"I just believe it."

Two little faces appeared at this moment at the door.

"Don't tell the poor souls!" cried Mrs. Fitch.

"Children, your father has left you," said Mrs. Gill.

Annie burst into louder crying.

"He'll come back. I bet he'll come back," insisted Simmy.

The children did not understand the source of their mother's woe, but they knew that something was seriously wrong. They too cried in voices inherited from her. Simmy backed out and went and sat down behind the wood-pile; from there he could look up the lane. It was exactly Tom's hour to return for his dinner, whether or not he had been working. He would surely come. But Tom did not come.

The Wells house was all that afternoon and evening the objective point of many pilgrimages and the theater for loud expressions of opinion.

"I tell you, if he went, he might stay," insisted large Mrs. Weiss, who was notoriously dominated by her cross husband. "I wouldn't take nothing from no man!"

"I tell you, I never had much faith in Tom," said Mary Weiss, sharply.

The remark acted like a tonic.

"Nor he in you," said Annie. "Else you might 'a' caught him when you tried so hard."

Annie had passed from feelings of rage into feelings of acute distress. She was now smitten with sorrow—it was a real treasure which she had lost.

"'He's been robbed and murdered!" she cried. "That's what's happened to Tom."

"Didn't he write on a paper that he was going?" asked a voice from the crowd.

"Did he have any money to be robbed of?" was a second pointed inquiry.

Having asked these questions, Mrs. Weiss and Mary moved to the door. Fate seldom offers to any vengeful hand so keen a weapon as was put at this moment into theirs.

"I guess we heard you telling him to clear out and never come back," said Mrs. Weiss. "Didn't we, Mary?"

Mary had somewhere learned elegant expressions not common to Batter's Lane.

"Yes, I remarked to Mom at the time," said she. "If he is lost, I said, it is isn't hard to discover the perpetrator."

From outside the door Mrs. Weiss lifted her voice high. Her sentence was finished as she clicked the gate.

"If there's inquiries made, one can't lie."

Simmy shook his head. His skin was pale, his white beard quivered constantly on his breast. What kindly creature was it that Simmy resembled? Tom would come back. Of course he would come back. He had brought him up from babyhood, fed him, clothed him. He had no one but Tom.

When supper-time had passed, and seven o'clock, and eight o'clock, and still Tom had not come, Simmy began for the first time to be really anxious. Tom knew nothing of outdoor life, he had never slept from under a roof, and he had, his uncle was certain, no money. In a moment of dreadful recollection he remembered that freight cars furnished shelter and transportation. But Tom was no adventurer, and for such a spirit as his the poorest home was better than none and the most difficult of wives better than loneliness. If Tom had only had more spunk, if he had only not let Annie get ahead of him, all would have been well. The secret of a happy life lay in making one's self comfortable; but comfort was not to be had without effort. Tom had now done for himself; when he returned, he would find a worse situation than that which he had left.

Simmy did not believe for at least four days that Tom would not come back. Then suddenly the whistle of the afternoon freight train became a derisive shriek. The train had carried him away. He had gone perhaps as far as New

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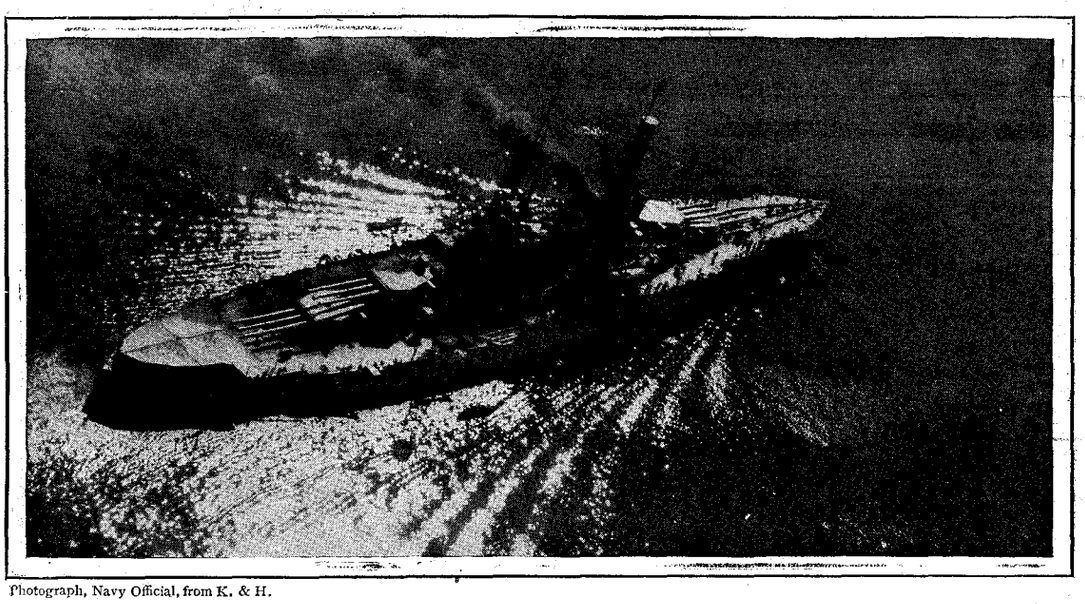
# CURRENT EVENTS ILLUSTRATED

(C) Clinedinst

THE UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT

The great importance of the recent decision of the Supreme Court on the War-Time Prohibition Law makes the personnel of the Court of especial interest, and we therefore present herewith an excellent photograph of this most distinguished group of jurists. Standing—left to right—Louis D. Brandeis, Mahlon Pitney, James C. McReynolds, John H. Clarke
Sitting—William R. Day, Joseph McKenna, Edward D. White (Chief Justice), Oliver Wendell Holmes, Willis Van Devanter



Photograph, Navy Official, from K. & H.

THE U. S. BATTLESHIP NEW MEXICO PASSING THROUGH THE GOLDEN GATE

This remarkable photograph of the flagship of the newly organized Pacific Fleet was taken from an airplane

(C) Underwood & Underwood

MINERS GOING BACK TO WORK AFTER THE STRIKE

These miners, it is reported, were among the first to go back to work after their prolonged strike

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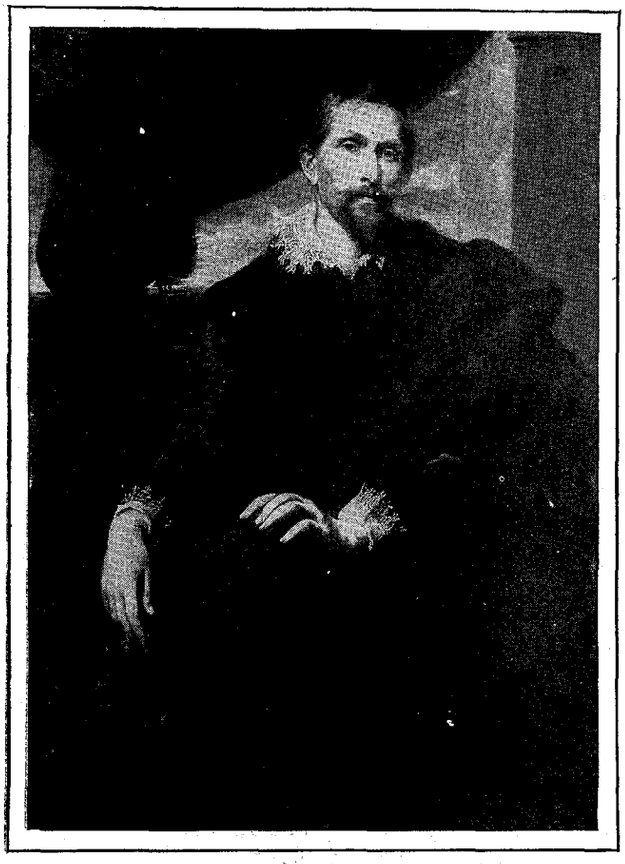
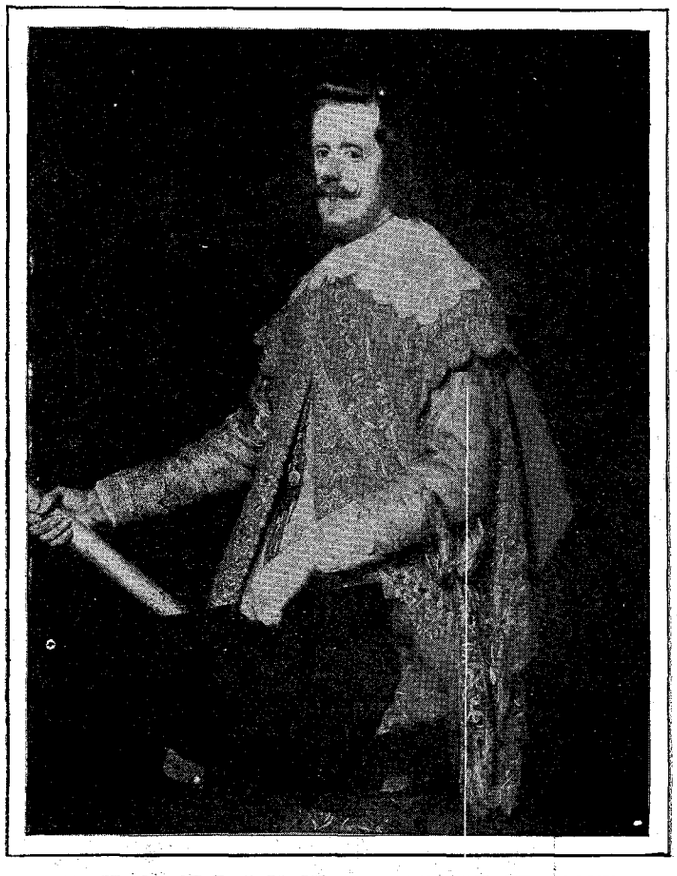


PORTRAIT OF FRANS SNYDERS, BY ANTHONY VAN DYKE



PORTRAIT OF PHILIP IV OF SPAIN, BY VELASQUEZ

Photographs by M. Knoedler & Co., from U. & U.

THE MUSIC LESSON, BY JAN VERMEER

MASTERPIECES IN THE GREAT COLLECTION LEFT

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ROSA CORDER

LE COMTE ROBERT DE MONTESQUIEU

TWO FINE EXAMPLES OF THE WORK OF JAMES McNEILL WHISTLER

BY HENRY C. FRICK TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

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York, or perhaps he had dropped off at some town midway. Simmy's imagination pierced farther into his probable experiences. He was not bad-looking, and in loneliness he might "take up" with some one wickedly and his soul be lost. Good old Simmy shed tears.

On the fifth day Mrs. Fitch went for the civic nurse, so despised by Annie. Annie did not work nor would she eat; she was still devoured in turn by rage and woe. She had achieved hysterics, and now, half-starved, she contrived a faint.

The nurse had had long experience in Batter's Lane and similar neighborhoods, and she applied first aid quickly and then heated a sustaining broth from a bottle in her bag. Against her will, Annie proved that she could eat.

"You'd feel better if you'd work," said the nurse with cruel lack of understanding. "This is no example to set your children. If your husband has proved himself worthless, it's all the more important that they should be able to look up to their mother."

This stern judgment proved too much for Simmy, standing in the doorway. He came into the room.

"He isn't worthless," he protested. "I'm sure he'll come back."

"Do you know where he is?"

"I believe I could guess," answered Simmy, thinking of the freight train.

The nurse did him a cruel turn. Already Mrs. Fitch and Mrs. Gill and three other presuming and inquisitive women were looking at him in astonishment.

"If you guess where he is, why not go and fetch him?"

"Guess isn't knowing," he protested. "I only guess."

The nurse was one of those dreadful persons who must always have the last word.

"Then follow up your guess," said she.

Mrs. Gill's sense of the dramatic lifted her to her feet. She pointed with her forefinger at the sufferer, then she waved her open hand toward Simmy, her sharp eyes shooting fire. She said nothing, but her gesture called upon heaven and earth to behold this wicked old man.

Simmy went out, hearing the freight train whistle at the next station, three miles away. When it stopped at the water tank, he approached the crew. He could not understand why he had not inquired before, though in the bottom of his heart he knew that he had at first wanted to help Tom to a little vacation.

"Why, yes," said a friendly brakeman. "Tom went to Brockville. He's working there at the station. Want to ride down and see him?"

Old Simmy climbed into the caboose. His loyalty belonged to Tom; it did not occur to him to run home shouting the good news. Tom's return must be managed with the greatest of skill if he were to have any future peace. Simmy thought vaguely of a feigned illness or an accident. In the middle of Batter's Lane there was a woman who would not bake pie for her husband for months at a time; unsoftened, Annie was equal to administering any sort of cruel punishment.

He found Tom sitting at the back of the Brockville station. He was like Simmy in his solemnity and his fine repose, and he simply moved a little to one side to make room for his uncle, but gave him no greeting.

"Well," said Simmy at last, "why did you go off, Tom?"

"I was tired of it."

In the perfect sympathy between them Simmy understood. "It" was polite, but Tom meant "her."

"She took it hard."

"Did she?" said Tom.

"When you coming back, Tom?"

"I don t know. Sometime, I guess." His voice shook a little. After the second day he had really been forlorn. "Children all right?"

"They cry a good deal," said wily Simmy.

Tom stretched his legs. He had incredible news to impart.

"I got a lot of money."

"How much?"

"I earned twenty dollars. I get two dollars a day, and the rest is tips for lifting heavy boxes. Then I found a pocketbook with two thousand dollars in it. The man gave me fifty. He was a big bug in a special car."

Simmy began to tremble. The days when Annie had talked all the time and had cooked delicious meals and had made things fly seemed paradisaical. He laid his hand on Tom's knee. Even a temporary reconciliation was better than the present discomfort.

"I guess that was why you went off, Tom, for to earn that lot of money."

Tom meditated. He was hungry for home and good cooking and his children.

"That was it, Uncle Simmy."

The shades of night fell; the lights, red, white, and green, shone from a high signal-tower; a cool breeze blew upon the two men. Tom pulled a little bag out of his pocket and handed it to his uncle, and his uncle helped himself.

"I believe I'll go home on the up freight, Tom."

"Yes, sir."

"Do you think you'll come to-morrow, Tom?"

"I guess so."

Not expecting that Simmy would return so soon with news, the women who had kept vigil with Annie for four nights had gone home when he reached the cottage. He found Annie sitting in the doorway listening to the frogs.

"I saw Tom, Annie. He's got a surprise for you in the morning."

"Surprise?" Swiftly Annie returned not only to life, but to life's brisk emotions.

"For why do you suppose Tom went off, Annie?"

"For low-down meanness," said Annie.

"To earn some money for you."

"How much money?" she asked, suspiciously.

Simmy was on the verge of telling the large sum which Tom had earned, but he decided not to rob him of his triumph.

"I'd cook a good supper to-morrow," he advised. "And I'd tell those interfering women to mind their own business, especially Mrs. Gill. They got you all excited, Annie."

"I could kill a chicken," said Annie.

In the late afternoon of the next day Simmy sat with his chair tipped against the house wall and his feet elevated in the air. The creature that he resembled was, one saw clearly, a very wise and benevolent old goat. He was tired, having thoughtfully taken a long walk, so that the reunion might be without observers. Now he pretended to sleep, but he was not asleep, nor had he been when Mrs. Fitch called to him or when Mrs. Gill pounded, unadmitted, at the kitchen door on the other side of the house. Tom was taking a nap after his strenuous week, and Annie was catching up with vast arrears of work. The pleasant odor of stewing chicken filled the air. He shook his head when he thought of Tom. The happiness of this return would not last; the single disciplinary stroke which was to establish the relation of man and wife on its right foundation was still not administered. Tom had, after all, returned, not as a victor, but as a penitent, bringing large gifts. All his life he would be handicapped by his own stupidity and good nature.

Suddenly Annie opened a window. She had let Tom sleep for an hour—a long time for her to do without an auditor. Her wheedling voice came out:

"I'd get up, Tom. If you'd only earn a little more, I'd treat you like an angel, Tom."

Old Simmy groaned. This greedy Annie was not satisfied with seventy dollars.

Then, oh, foolish Tom! Binding himself to slavery.

"If you'd treat me right, Annie, I believe I could earn a dollar more a week, anyhow, for some time."

Simmy shook his head pityingly. But in the midst of an audible groan he held his breath. Annie was calling to him from the window in a voice of honey, publishing the tribute of her slave.

"It was nice for Tom to bring me ten dollars, Uncle Simmy. He worked hard."

"Ten dollars! Why—" Simmy began, caught himself in terror, choked, swallowed his words, was saved as by a miracle. Lifting his head, he saw behind Annie's shoulder Tom's shrewd and warning frown. It was a new expression for Tom. Rapidly Simmy calculated—ten from seventy left sixty. Sixty dollars with which to purchase by small additions to his weekly seven both ease and peace.

"It's fine, Annie," said he, apparently overwhelmed by this industry and generosity.

Then he rose and laid his hand over his toothless mouth. The wiles of the serpent were, after all, not incompatible with the gentleness of the dove. Behind the woodpile he gave chuckling thanks for the safe future of his darling.

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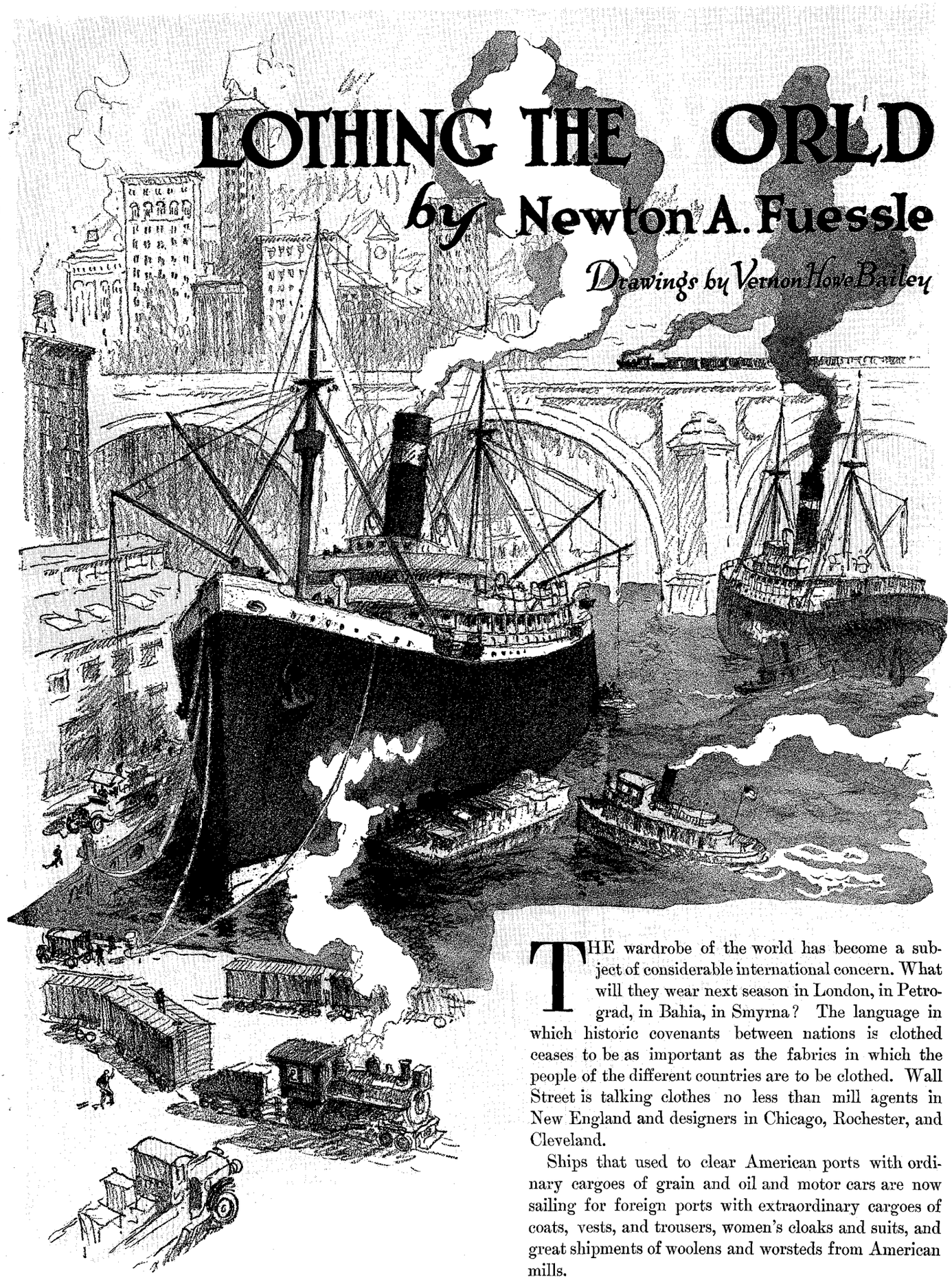

# LOTHING THE ORLD

## by Newton A. Fuessle

*Drawings by Vernon Howe Bailey*

THE wardrobe of the world has become a subject of considerable international concern. What will they wear next season in London, in Petrograd, in Bahia, in Smyrna? The language in which historic covenants between nations is clothed ceases to be as important as the fabrics in which the people of the different countries are to be clothed. Wall Street is talking clothes no less than mill agents in New England and designers in Chicago, Rochester, and Cleveland.

Ships that used to clear American ports with ordinary cargoes of grain and oil and motor cars are now sailing for foreign ports with extraordinary cargoes of coats, vests, and trousers, women's cloaks and suits, and great shipments of woolens and worsteds from American mills.

Nations, near and remote, that used to clothe their own people are looking to America more and more for their



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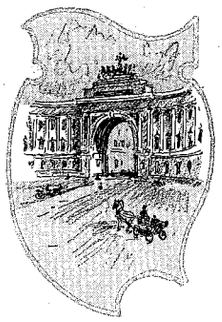
clothes. From feeding the world it was but a short and altogether logical step for the United States to the timely companion task of clothing the world. The shears of many climates are cutting into American-made woolens. Exotic fingers the world over are fitting American fabrics to the frames of their countrymen. London haberdashers, Cairo bazaars, Hindu peddlers, are showing American weaves and American garments.

For war is the weirdest of laboratories. It does the most unexpected things to the planet's needs, its sources of supply, its trade. The war put a new vision of America into the world's eyes. Peoples who used to think of the United States in terms of painted red men and rampant buffaloes have revised their conception into terms of a vast supply-house of the necessities of life that are greatly needed.

### ENGLAND LOSES SUPREMACY IN WOOL

ENGLAND, once the globe's major-domo of woolen manufactures, has discovered that our woolen mills and garment manufacturers can do what England cannot do. England is to-day engrossed in a study of American industrial methods, and is in many cases adopting them. Great Britain concedes that, although labor costs in the United States have normally been far greater than in England, American manufacturers, through standardization, centralization, better equipment, and superior efficiency, have been able to produce, per capita of labor employed, far in excess of the British.

In the class of clothing, hats, hosiery, and silks, for example, the United Kingdom produced in 1913 a total of $409,200,000 of goods with 498,000 wage-earners, against $1,433,000,000 worth of goods of the same class by 562,000 wage-earners in the United States. The comparison is almost startling.



Petrograd turns to America for clothes

England's chief advantage in the competition for the woolen and clothing markets of the world has hitherto consisted of her much lower scale of wages. By a sudden turn of the wheel, the wage scale in England has increased almost as much as the wage scale in America. To-day there are very few fabrics in which the woolen mills of America cannot excel those of England, even for the smart custom trade, due to better grades now being produced here.

In the large majority of weaves now figuring in British and American competition our own product is reported to be the better. In a recent comparison of that popular fabric, serge, the English was found inferior to the American.

On top of the British disadvantage of higher present wage scales, looms the further disadvantage of the methods by which their business is handled. Our mills, on the one hand, are complete under one roof, from raw wool to finished cloth. The British mills, on the other hand, are run as independent units. That is to say, one mill handles the combing and carding, another the spinning, another the weaving, still another the dyeing and finishing. This scattered, detached method of manufacture costs the British dearly.

### CLOSE TEAM-WORK IN AMERICA

THE team-work which puts co-ordinated speed and unified drive into the work of our own woolen mills is vividly exemplified by the American Woolen Company. Lost motion, cross-purposes, and delays between operations are here minimized by a centralized scheme of organization. It owns and controls no less than fifty-four mills, with the necessary storehouses, containing 10,000 looms and more than 700,000 spindles. It employs 40,000 people, and has an annual pay-roll of $40,000,000. It is the largest manufacturer of woolen and worsted fabrics in the world, with a yearly output of more than seventy millions of yards. Thirty thousand styles of fabric are shown each season. It sells its goods through its own selling organizations, not only in America, but in many of the leading textile centers of the world.

An organization such as William M. Wood, President of the American Woolen Company, has developed may well prove the despair of foreign competitors. Its ability to function under the severest kind of stress was singularly well displayed when the United States entered the war and looked to the American Woolen Company for more than $102,000,000 worth of military cloths and blankets for the fitting out of the American Expeditionary Forces.

The magnitude and perfection of this leader of America's woolen industry, with its forty million dollars' worth of plants and machinery, all under single command, enables Uncle Sam to use long and powerful arms in this novel task of putting American clothes on foreign backs. Where England, and France, and the Germany of former days labored long and patiently to win their share of the world's woolen trade, the United States has seen its opportunity and acted with a suddenness that could not possibly have occurred had she not been able to rely upon the great service facilities and resourcefulness of so inherently American an industry as the American Woolen Company symbolizes.

### BIG JUMP IN WOOLEN EXPORTS

ALL this is not to say that the United States stands, Samaritan-like, between a whole world and its nudity. But there has been a decisive jump in our exports to foreign countries of clothing and materials. Few of us have been aware of what was happening. If prior to 1914 you had intimated to an Englishman, a Frenchman, a German, that America was presently to become clothier to the world, they would have given you the so-called laugh. The year before the war our exports of all manufactures of wool were about $3,000,000, compared with something like $40,000,000 of such exports leaving Europe. And yet to-day our exports of wool manufactures have leaped to $37,000,000 a year, an increase since 1913 of more than 1,200 per cent. During the four years of the war we exported $122,000,000 of wool manufactures, compared with $15,000,000 for the four years prior to the war. Among other things which the war exploded, was the theory that Europe had a better grasp of foreign trade and of the requirements of export trade than the United States.

### WHAT'S HAPPENING IN LONDON

AN Englishman pauses at his tailor's to inspect the new fall fabrics. He is about to order a new suit of clothes, and presently discovers a bolt of goods that pleases him very much.

"An excellent piece of goods, sir," declares his tailor, draping the cloth with a practiced flourish over his shoulder. "This is one of the best fabrics we are showing this season. You can do no better, sir."

"It's quite all right, is it?"

"Oh, quite. It's a piece of imported goods, sir."

"Imported? Oh, I say!" remarks the customer.



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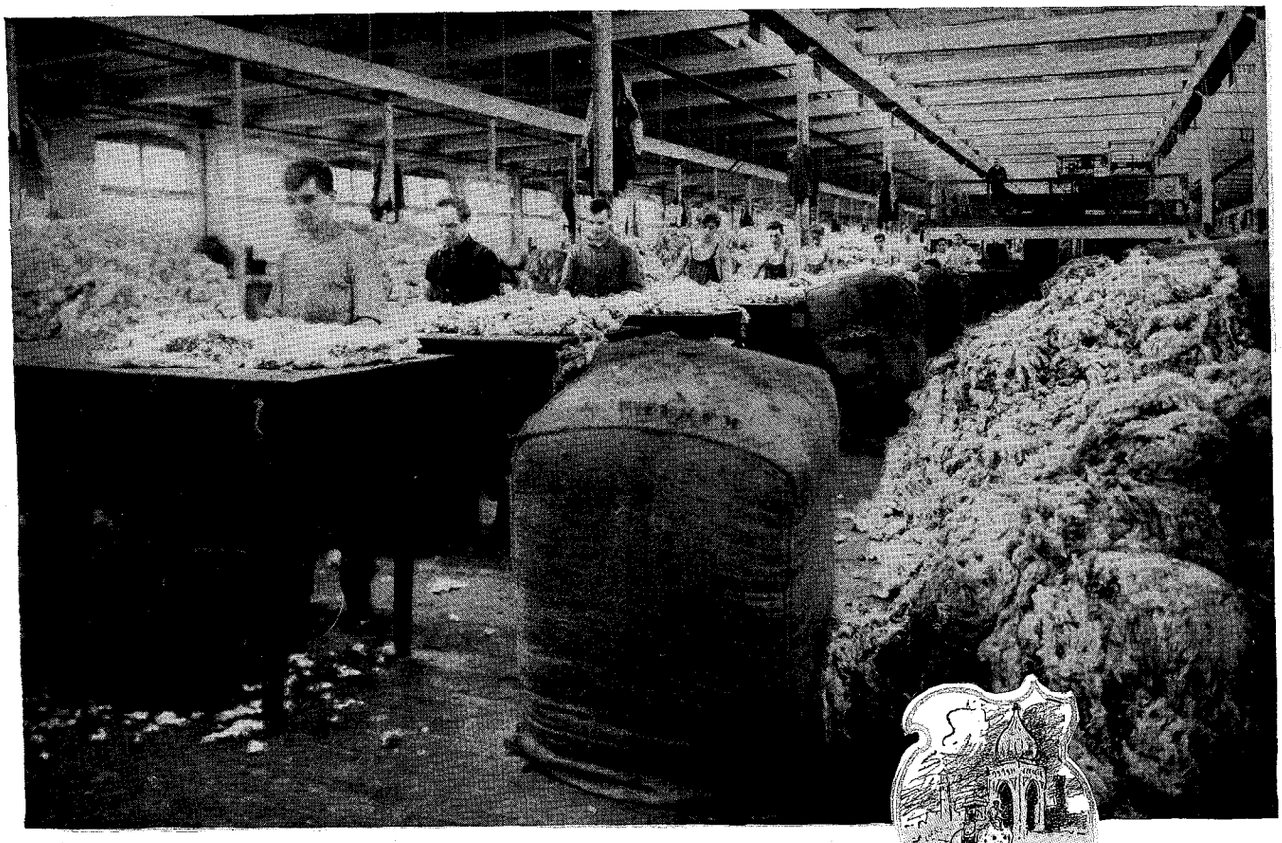

(C) American Woolen Company

SORTING FINE AUSTRALIAN WOOLS FOR LOOMS OF WEAVERS FOR THE WORLD

"Quite so. It's imported from America," replies the tailor.

Does the foregoing bit of dialogue sound extravagant to the American reader? Yet English buyers are here, not only inspecting but ordering American woolens. Not only that, but it is estimated that something like 90 per cent of all woolens sold as British goods in the United States is American-made. Even an expert cannot tell English goods from American goods unless he sees the label. This applies to the best of the weaves, while, when it comes to the less expensive fabrics, English mills can no longer afford to sell to American markets, for cheap labor, which formerly gave the British a certain lingering advantage in American markets, is now a thing of the past.

### ABRAHAM LINCOLN AND SCHEDULE K

EVER since Abraham Lincoln signed the law which was the original of Schedule K, placing a shielding governmental wing over the American woolen industry, English woolens began to lose their hold upon America, and their hold has been growing looser ever since.

But sentiment and traditions are persistent forces. They die hard. They hang on long after their time. In our custom tailor circles it is remarkable how, in the face of the facts, the better weaves continue to be sold as English woolens. "This is imported English goods," still echoes solemnly through the land, notwithstanding the overwhelming demand of to-day for good quality at a low price, a demand which the turn of events has made it impossible for English mills to supply.

### WORLD-WIDE CALL FOR CLOTHES

THE war which rocked empires off their historic foundations has depleted the wardrobe of the world in an astonishing manner. It is said that many people in Germany have been clothing themselves in paper. German scientists have been experimenting with all sorts of vegetable fibers in desperate efforts to supplement their almost exhausted stocks of the standard textiles. Much of her machinery has broken down for want of oil and grease. And Germany before the war was second only to Great Britain in the export of woolen manufactures.

The dearth of clothing in other countries of Europe differs only in degree from the critical situation in Germany. France is greatly in need of clothing. So are Italy, Serbia, Rumania, Russia, the former domains of Austria-Hungary, and the northern neutrals. Europe, which prior to 1914 exported to other parts of the world, over and above its imports, more than $40,000,000 worth of woolen manufactures, not only looks largely to the United States to-day for much of its clothing, but has opened up rich clothing markets for the United States in lands to which European mills and factories formerly exported their floods of textiles.

Putting American clothes on Calcutta backs

Is it any wonder that America becomes clothier to the world? The semi-official "Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung" recently admitted that of 1,700 spinning and weaving mills in Germany only 70 were running as usual, and of 1,400 shoe factories only 300 were in operation. In September, 1918, only 15 of Germany's 720 oil works were running. In Germany's silk industry the number of spools in operation had been reduced from 45,000 to 2,500.

Cuba, due to the high prices it is getting for sugar, is buying more and more of its clothing and textiles in the markets of the United States.

Canada's enormous contracts with Rumania for cloth and clothing give further indications of the way the new trade winds are blowing.

South America is being heard from in a big way. Before the war the United States had hardly even begun to send ready-to-wear clothing into Chile. In 1913 Chile imported 38,000 kilos of



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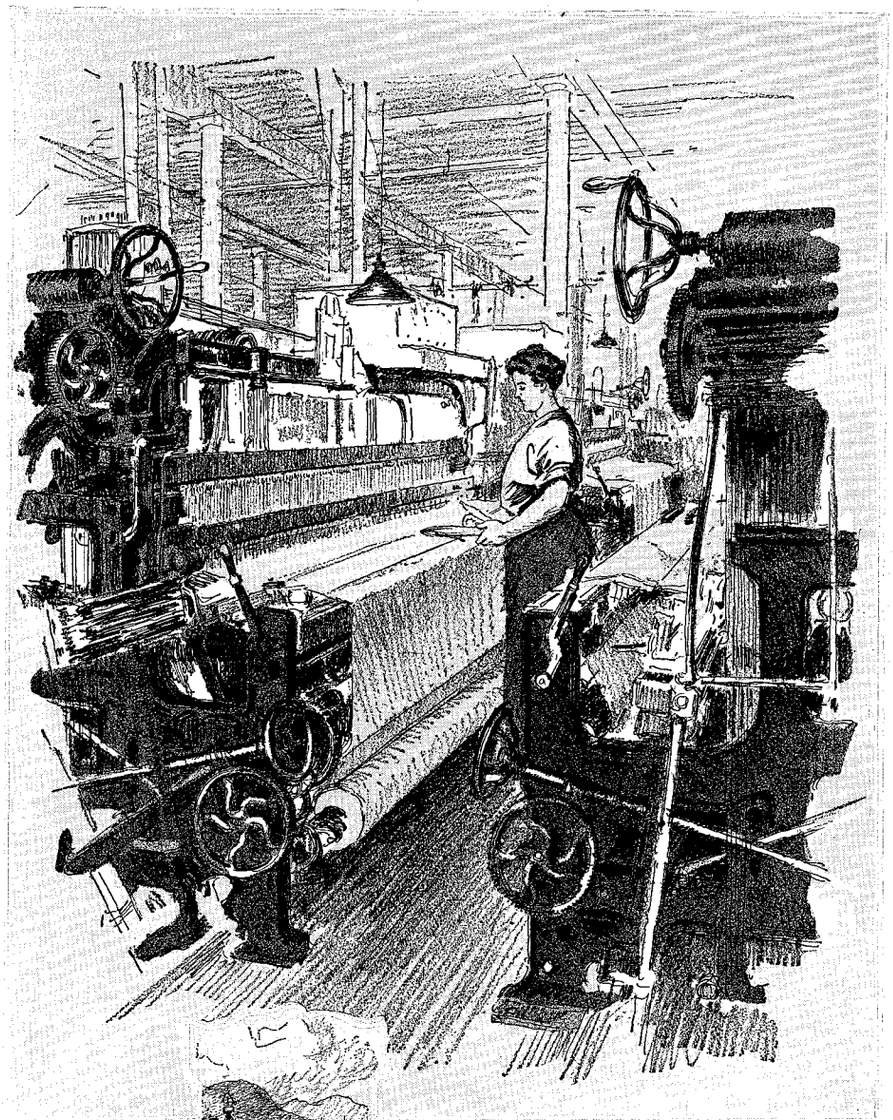

(C) American Woolen Company

ONE OF THE WEAVING MACHINES THAT HELPS PRODUCE THE 70,000,000-YARD ANNUAL OUTPUT OF THE AMERICAN WOOLEN COMPANY

From Hongkong comes growing demand for American clothes

men's clothing from Great Britain, 19,000 from Germany, and only 242 kilos from the United States. Our showing in women's wear was even worse. Chile bought 32,520 kilos from France, 16,000 from Germany, and only an inconsequential 18 kilos from the United States. To-day South American buyers are conspicuous in American woolen markets and heavy shipments of clothing are being consigned to the ports of Latin America.

The Webb Law, which permits combinations in export trade, is uniting the strength and facilities of numerous trading interests into powerful export organizations that are distributing the products of the American Woolen Company in the form of ready-to-wear clothing throughout the world.

One of the largest trading corporations reports that nine of the contemplated forty-five departments of its ready-to-wear division have been fully organized and are functioning. This concern is entering the jobbing business on a gigantic scale. It will buy the entire output of some factories. It is organizing sales and distributing service throughout the world, and already reports substantial orders from the West Indies, South America, and the Scandinavian countries. Offices have been opened in the Philippines, Mesopotamia, and other points of the East.

Australia is looked upon as a fruitful field for American ready-to-wear apparel. Australia used to get large shipments of clothing from Japan. It is said, however, that Japan, by dumping inferior goods upon Australia, has forfeited much of this trade, which now comes in turn to America.

Our exports of clothes to New Zealand have doubled since 1914.

### BELTING THE GLOBE WITH AMERICAN WOOLEN COMPANY PRODUCTS

IT has been estimated that the 70,000,000-yard annual output of the American Woolen Company would make a belt of fabric extending more than one and one-half times around the earth at the equator. In the past this picture of a world-encircling volume of goods was purely theoretical. Yet to-day the fabric that pours from the American Woolen Company's fifty-four mills, as a matter of actual fact, virtually does surround the world in consequence of the heavy exportations both of cloth in the bolt and of cloth in the finished garment.

From the Orient comes an ever-stiffening demand for American clothing. From the Near East comes the same demand. American relief expeditions to the Near East and the strong influence of American schools in Constantinople, Smyrna, and Beirût have helped establish a thoroughly friendly attitude toward the American people and American products; and recent trade surveys disclose a strong demand for American-made clothing for men, women, and children.

There is hardly a village in Syria and Palestine, it is said, which does not contain men who have lived for years in the United States and acquired taste for American goods, including American clothes. Thousands of Syrians, Armenians, Jews, and Turks have migrated from these valleys to America and remigrated back to their native lands with tidy savings, taking back with them new ideas, new desires, new standards, that have set the stage effectively for the export of American cloth and clothing to these lands. The Near East is filled with a sincere desire to do business with the United States; and our resulting trade with this, as with other foreign regions, seems limited only at the present time by the ability of our mills to get the raw wool for fabrication.

Our exporters had much to learn when they entered foreign trade in clothing on this new, large scale. One exporter, for example, decided to work off surplus stocks of clothing by sending large shipments to the Philippines. Soon, to his astonishment, almost the entire shipments were returned to him. An investigation disclosed that the run of American sizes were much too large for the Filipinos.

American clothing exporters operating in the Philippines have since made careful studies of sizes worn in the Philippines. American merchandising and advertising methods have been carefully adapted to the requirements of the islands. One large American export house has covered the 2,300 islands of the group with its salesmen to



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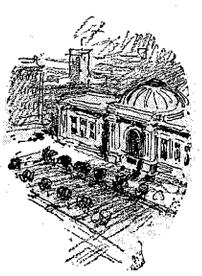
serve their 8,000,000 people. Business is conducted in English, Spanish, Chinese, and eight native dialects. The natives have been found to be eager buyers, usually insisting upon the best quality of clothing that their purses will permit them to purchase.

### BAGGY TROUSERS AND HIGH WAIST-LINES

THAT the favorite lines of America's highest-salaried designer of men's ready-to-wear clothes catch the popular fancy of the United States is no sign that the same model will sell abroad. Making clothes for world-wide trade is a course filled with obstacles that manufacturers in other lines can hardly appreciate. Guesswork is too expensive to tolerate. What appeals in one country may meet with derision in another. Clothes involve such intimate contact with the purchaser that the most careful investigation of styles must precede any effort to capture a given market. If the men of a country prefer baggy trousers, baggy trousers they must get if an American exporter has any hopes of establishing market connections there for his goods. The height of the waistline of the trousers may determine the height of our clothing sales in this country or that.

So sharply contingent upon careful procedure is America's trade with foreign lands that a great American bank, with branch banks in fifty or more foreign commercial centers, has gone so far as to make trade and market surveys and exhaustive reports of foreign markets for its clients, in order to help them invade these markets with every advantage. Its foreign trade department makes every effort to enable clients to approach foreign trade with open eyes and exhaustive information, and lays strongest emphasis upon serving foreign markets as painstakingly as domestic markets are served.



Our woolens win Winnipeg

### VAST MIGRATIONS DISTRIBUTE DEMAND FOR AMERICAN CLOTHING

PROFOUND and fundamental influences are drawing Uncle Sam into the gigantic task of clothing the world. The end of the war set in motion a vast migration of foreign-born and alien residents of the United States back to their native lands. Humanity, always restless, moves in greatly accelerated waves after great wars. There are thousands of applications almost every day for passports out of the United States. It is estimated that a million foreign-born and aliens will leave the United States for other lands as fast as shipping and passports will permit them to embark. Floods of men and women who have saved little fortunes at their work in the war industries will return to Italy, to Hungary, to Russia. They will return there to stay.

How does the migration of a million people from the United States affect the woolen mills and clothing industries of America? This migration has a singularly important bearing upon these industries. These people have become accustomed to American clothes and American quality. They are going back with upwards of three-quarters of a billion dollars. They are going back to lands whose clothing industries have been thrown out of gear or out of existence by the war, or transferred into other kinds of work. These people will demand, and will get, American-made clothes. Is it any wonder that one of the largest of American banks in point of foreign contact and knowledge of foreign trade opportunities and conditions reports that few lines of American industry doing an export business are more optimistic than the textile manufacturer?

### AMERICAN WOOLEN COMPANY HARD AT WORK IN FOREIGN LANDS

MR. WILLIAM M. WOOD, President of the American Woolen Company, saw what was coming. He realized early that the destinies of American woolens were by no means limited to American soil. He took early steps to see to it that his company, which is by far the largest and most important organization in the woolen industry, should get under its share of the load of clothing the world. And so, in 1918, while his company was still laboring under the huge burden of Government war contracts (it had Government cloth contracts for $102,400,000 worth of goods in 1918), he organized the American Woolen Products Company, the subsidiary for exports of the American Woolen Company.

Branches were promptly established in the Argentine, Brazil, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Cuba, Peru, Mexico, and the Far East. In spite of early obstacles, due chiefly to lack of shipping facilities and to severe Government regulations, Mr. Wood reports that more than $2,300,000 of goods has already been sold to foreign customers direct by his organization. The importance of this volume of sales takes on additional significance when it is recalled that the total exports of all manufactures of wool during the year 1913 from the United States were only about $3,000,000.

Buenos Aires wears American garments

The American Woolen Company thus became a sort of foster-father to the interesting industrial personage which has suddenly appeared—America, as clothier to the world.

"Our organization has become more perfected," says Mr. Wood. "Our representatives and agents are becoming more familiar with our line and with the requirements of the different countries, and we are making great headway in establishing a staple line of goods, thus enlarging our abilities to meet promptly new or reorders."

### ECONOMIC FORCES CONTROLLED BY WORLD EXCHANGE OF GOODS

AN official of the American Woolen Products Company briefly summarizes the reasons why the promotion of foreign trade is of general and intimate concern to every citizen of the United States.

"Every dollar's worth of American products sold abroad," he declares, "helps every American citizen. The farmer sells his wheat at its export value. The cotton price is fixed mostly on the Liverpool Exchange. The rate of interest paid by our banks is regulated by the rate of foreign exchange, indicating the tightness or ease of money in the great financial centers, and this rate is raised or lowered by the balance of trade."

The same official summarizes the A, B, C of what we must do to capture and hold foreign markets: "Find out what they want. Give it to them absolutely correct. Advertise through local agencies in their own language and in terms of their own unit of money that you have what they want. Make the price right and do not try to over-



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charge. Give them credit, long credit if they are worthy of it. Don't forget that there are firms all over the world just as much entitled to credit as firms in the United States, even if their names are unpronounceable to us and you have never heard of them.

"Our domestic consumption for a period of ten years to come will not keep our factories running at more than 60 to 70 per cent of capacity, but the same amount of effort applied to producing a regular, constant demand for our goods abroad means a 90 to 100 per cent output, and that means a contented, prosperous workman, better education, food, and homes for his children, and the best guard against Bolshevism.

"To get foreign trade we must go after it, and follow the example and learn by the experience of England and Germany and give foreign markets exactly what they want, by methods they are accustomed to, the credits they expect, and teach them that we will coöperate with them for mutual advantage."

### 200 PER CENT INCREASE IN EXPORTS

HOW ably the American Woolen Company has carried the theory of foreign trade into actual accomplishment is disclosed by the record of its export subsidiary, the American Woolen Products Company.

This subsidiary was incorporated in order to keep the great production power of the American Woolen Company going as near as possible the maximum of its capacity the year around. It buys its goods direct from the American Woolen Company and sells them to foreign customers.

With the signing of the armistice in November, 1918, a period of dullness set in, which continued until January, 1919. During this period of dullness, although there was a great scarcity of woolens and worsteds abroad, the jobbers and merchants hesitated to buy on account of high prices, and awaited a decline. In the latter part of January, 1919, however, orders for the goods of the American Woolen Products Company began rolling in, and during the next five months the company was extremely busy. The orders on their books on July 1, 1919, amounted to an increase of more than 200 per cent of the total business in 1918. In addition to this business the company declined orders for as many pieces as it sold during 1918 because of inability to obtain goods from the mills.

Direct Agencies or Representatives of the company are now established in the following countries:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Brazil | Norway | South Africa |
| Argentina | Sweden | Canada |
| Colombia | Spain | Cuba |
| Chile | Denmark | Australia |
| Peru | Holland | Mexico |
| Ecuador | England | Italy |
| China | France | |

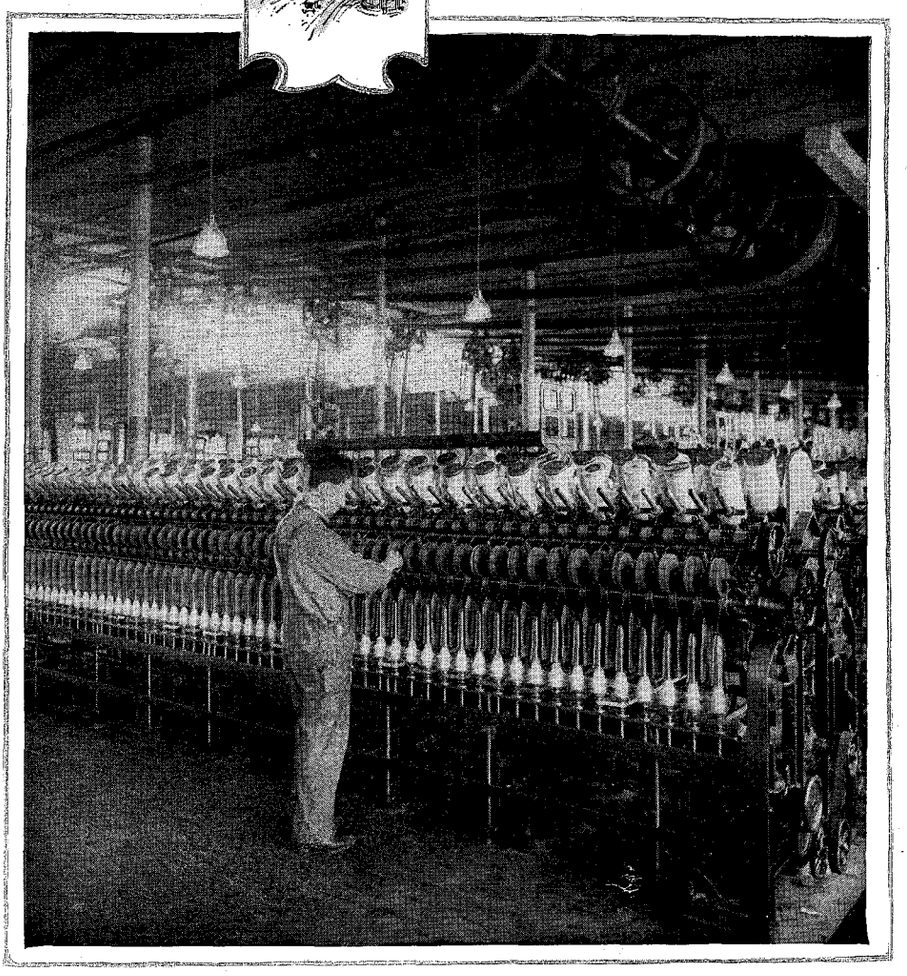
"These Agents and Representatives," declares an official of the company, "are instructed to follow scrupulously the policies of the company in foreign lands, just as Agents or Representatives would in the domestic trade in the United States. They are instructed to show their samples, to get their orders by fair, honest talk, stating nothing, promising nothing, that they are not reasonably certain of being able to fulfill.

"We guarantee that the goods we manufacture are as near the sample as it is possible to manufacture. Eventually we are aiming at having the goods on hand in many of the leading foreign selling centers, so that we shall be able to make spot delivery of our staple line at any time of the year. This will take care of reörders and will be a great help to the promotion of our export trade. A staple line will eliminate the past difficulties of filling foreign reörders, which it was sometimes impossible for American manufacturers to do.

"Prices are absolutely the same in each country, with the exception of the added cost of freight and insurance. In other words, a customer can buy a yard of cloth from us in Rio de Janeiro at the same price that a customer can buy it in Shanghai, China, plus the added cost of freight and insurance. We are building for the future, coöperating in every way with the wishes of the foreign buyer, packing his goods according to his instructions, making delivery at the time stated in the order, unless delayed by forces beyond our control.

"We are undertaking an advertising campaign, stating simple facts about the company, about the goods manufactured, about what we intend to do, trying to bring to the attention of the foreigner who lives many thousands of miles away the benefits to be derived from buying from the largest woolen

Our fabrics are popular in Havana



(C) American Woolen Company

ENGLISH SPINNING FRAME



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and worsted manufacturer in the world, and trying to show them that fair treatment is our policy.

"No doubt during this year we have been relieved of some of the competition of the English, French, and German manufacturers, which we shall be obliged to face in the future. But we believe that our goods are manufactured as well as they can be abroad, and that our prices, owing to the increased cost of raw materials and workmanship abroad, will be as low as, if not lower than, foreign-made goods.

"Realizing that many of the foreign merchants who deal in woolens and worsteds are also interested in products exported from their own countries, such as wool, coffee, and minerals, we are inaugurating an import department in connection with our exports, and as soon as our organization is completed we shall instruct our salesmen to go to our foreign customers and state that, inasmuch as they have purchased a portion of their requirements in woolen goods from us, we shall be pleased in turn to handle their exports to the United States. This reciprocal business, we believe, will not only increase the purchases of the individual foreign consumer, but will show satisfactory mutual profit to us from such imports," concluded the American Woolen Products Company official interviewed.

### FOREIGN LOANS AND CLOTH EXPORTS

CLOTHING figures prominently in inquiries for American goods from the Kingdom of Sweden, which recently floated a $25,000,000 bond issue through a syndicate of American bankers and bond houses. The entire proceeds of this loan are to pay for the purchase of American commodities, which in turn adds its stimulus to the growing foreign demand for American cloth and clothes.

More than $3,690,724,618 of foreign loans have been absorbed by the United States since the beginning of the World War. The United States, as the new world center of credit, gives forcible impetus to the movement of American fabrics and clothing to foreign lands.

The Scandinavian orders for American clothing transfer to us much of the trade in textiles previously enjoyed by Germany.

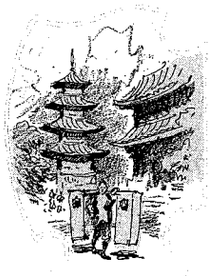
### THE DAY OF "READY-TO-WEAR"

THE irresistible power of quality production in great volume in the men's clothing industry has quietly revolutionized conditions in that field. It is no longer unusual for a business man to step out of an expensive motor car and to step into a ready-to-wear clothing establishment and then to step into a ready-to-wear suit. Done is the day of the "hand-me-down" that used to be fished, all wrinkled and crinkled, out of a dubious dune of garments. The beguiling taste and artistry of skillful merchandising have become associated with the retail sale of men's ready-made clothes as well as women's. The New Yorker can walk into stately shops and sit in Tudor chairs while suave attendants pass quietly to and fro over Persian rugs, showing ready-made suits that more and more men are glad to wear.

Melbourne comes to America for clothes

The American Woolen Company sells ninety per cent of its output to manufacturers of ready-to-wear garments. It sells exclusive designs and the entire output of whole mills to a single manufacturer. The steady improvement in the quality of ready-to-wear clothing has matched and more than matched the steady increase of its volume to the present vast output, so that while the upward trend of prices has forced the purchaser of the clothes to pay a little more, he obtains a great deal more in value than was possible in former days.

On inspecting one of our great establishments of ready-to-wear clothing, one is astonished at the character and quality of workmanship that go into the better grade of these clothes. The makers do not exaggerate when they state that they hand-tailor their garments throughout. Seams are sewed by hand with silk. Buttonholes are hand-sewed. Lapels are painstakingly fashioned by hand. Garments are ironed by hand after every major operation. The hang of the finished garment is carefully inspected and adjusted. Before the bolt of goods is accepted swatches are put to the acid test for all-wool character, are put to the arc-light test for fast color. Silk thread is tested for tensile strength. The highest-salaried designers and cutters are employed.



Tokyo dons American-made garb

The improvements in clothing manufacture which have so impressed the purchaser in America are equally impressing the purchaser in foreign lands. Exports travel on quality as well as upon ships. Successful competition for the world's trade hinges upon quality and upon standardization of product no less than upon fleets of shipping and upon world-wide banking facilities to take care of the financing of a nation's foreign trade.

### VANDERLIP ON MASS PRODUCTION

MR. FRANK A. VANDERLIP, until recently President of The National City Bank of New York, forcefully summarizes the reasons for America's extraordinary future in world trade:

"We are going to stand, if Europe comes back," he declares, "the nation which is the reservoir of the world's credit; the nation which is the storehouse of raw material. Now there never was that combination before in history. There have been nations, like England, that were the reservoirs of international credit, but she lacked raw materials.

"Here we have got the greatest richness of both; and back of that, our manufacturers have a condition which is unmatched and never was matched in all the world. They have got this great, homogeneous market of America, 105,000,000 people who wear the same kind of hats and the same kind of shoes; who haven't a tariff barrier, who have no barrier. You have got this vast market in which you can build up mass production as it cannot be built up anywhere else in the world, and then, overflowing from your domestic production, you can go into the markets of the world, and, I believe, be invulnerable. I can see no other way."

### SHORTER HOURS AND HIGHER WAGES IMPROVE QUALITY OF CLOTH

AN interesting reaction upon the quality of America's woolen manufactures has its source in the recent reduction of hours and an increase in wages which took place generally throughout the industry. The American Woolen Company is now operating on a 48-hour-per-week basis, and on June 2, 1919, advanced the wages of its operatives another 15 per cent. This revision of wages upward and of working hours downward is the culmination of a steady trend which has carried wages in the woolen industry upward 130 per cent since 1914, and which has



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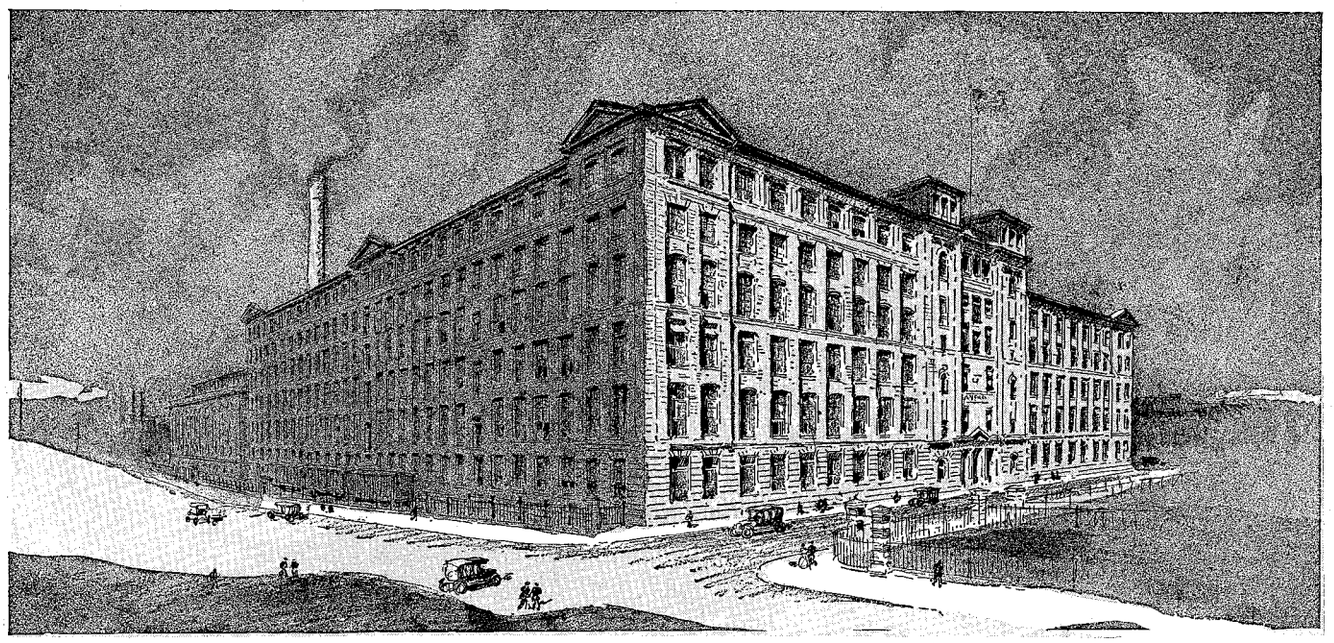

AYER MILLS, LAWRENCE, MASSACHUSETTS

reduced working hours more than 11 per cent. The price of raw wool has risen by 150 to 200 per cent. All other costs of production, including mill supplies, fuel, and taxes, have risen to heights that would have been considered inconceivable five years ago.

And what has been the result of these mountain peaks of increased costs and increased difficulties of production in the woolen industry?

The answer, although surprising, is entirely logical and credible. An official of the American Woolen Company declares that the net result has been an improved quality of output. A woolen mill that works a shorter working day at higher costs of production is compelled to keep going every minute of the time. The jamming of machinery, the delaying of the work for any reason, must be scrupulously guarded against. Mills are to-day compelled to be far more careful with the quality of wool they buy, because the poorer grades of wool won't spin well enough for the new pace that has to be maintained. American mills are to-day operating under conditions of highest efficiency ever attained, in the opinion of men competent to judge.

### INSURES LIVES OF EMPLOYEES

PEACE of mind promotes better work, and life insurance reduces worry and contributes to the efficiency of a mill-hand. On June 16, 1919, the American Woolen Company inaugurated a system of group life insurance, under which every employee of the company, including the selling as well as the manufacturing departments, men, women, girls, and boys, received a policy covering his or her life. The principals range from $750 to $1,500, depending upon the length of service of the employee. All premiums are paid by the American Woolen Company.

### BUILDS HOMES FOR EMPLOYEES

An extraordinary departure in welfare work for employees is represented by the Company's Homestead Association, Inc. It assists the workers to own their own homes. It prepares designs for homes, builds them, and sells them to employees at cost. These will all be individual homes, of durable, permanent construction, and of four, five, six, or more rooms in size. For the purchase of these homes money will be loaned to employees at 4½ per cent interest. A first payment of 5 per cent of the selling price will be asked, and subsequent payments may be made monthly in lieu of rent. Taxes and insurance will be provided for in these easy payments. Employees are also helped to build single houses according to their own plans.

This generous plan places the employees of the American Woolen Company in the front rank of favored American workers in respect to the home life which they may enjoy under the sponsorship of their employers.

### MATERNITY AND SICK BENEFITS

Women employees who are about to bear children can approach the ordeal without the added anxiety of financial worries. The sick and accident benefits plan provides for the payment of from 40 per cent to 80 per cent of the worker's average weekly income. These benefits cover all cases of disability arising from sickness or accident, whether inside or outside of the worker's place of employment.

These are but three steps of many in the highly organized plan of service to employees which the Company is working out under the direct supervision of Mr. William M. Wood, President.

From far Cape Town comes demand for American weaves



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# MOUNTAIN MUSIC

BY WINIFRED KIRKLAND

OVER and over again in these Southern highlands I catch myself listening to the stillness. New England woods can be genuinely silent, but these long black coves, these crests that turn sapphire and green and amethyst, these amber thickets of giant rhododendron—these are always palpitant with elfin undertones that match their elfin colors. The southern Appalachians are not like other mountains—they are haunted. Always the secrecy and romance of some elusive melody teases to be interpreted.

I well remember my first impression of mountain music. The young people of the farmhouse were giving a party. We were too travel-worn to attend, but from an upper window we watched. At first we wondered where the guests would come from, for no neighboring houses were to be seen, only the splendid solitude of Craggy bulking high upon the western horizon, but as dusk drew in and stars came pricking out above the towering peak other sounds than the itinerant chime of the wood thrush broke through the pregnant forest quiet. There were plashing of horses down at the ford, the ring of hoofs on wet and slippery rocks, and then everywhere about us rhododendron thicket and spruce recesses became alive with voices subdued but merry—the laugh of a girl, the gibe of a boy as he jolted some unsteady footlog. Presently the cleared lawn beneath the tree shadows was tremulous with young forms shifty in the moonlight and moving to the march of old games. Yet it is not the sight but the sound that remains with me. In the great branches of pine and chestnut the katydids were deafening, but below on the lawn the voices of boys and girls were always soft, melodious; never a raucous shout, never a shrill giggle. Manners preserved an old-world decorum here in the heart of the woods. Musical as a chant young throats sang:

> "Jolly is the miller who lives by the mill,
> The wheel goes round with a right good will,
> One hand in the hopper and one in the sack—
> Girls step forward and boys step back."

Idyllic as some ditty of Arcady is my first recollection of mountain music, and yet even then there was present to my ear something no stranger could ever fully fathom. On the next night of my sojourn my sleep was startled by sounds of savage contrast to that first evening. On the road leading past the little lumber settlement a quarter of a mile away mad hoofs were galloping to and fro, falsetto shouts rang sinister, and pistol shots cracked sharp upon the stillness, and these shrilling drunken boys were the same slim brown youths who had attended the party, whose rich baritones had blended with the purling pleasantness of the mountain brooks. Fast enough the mountains can change that pleasantness of little streams to the snarl of a perilous torrent, and fast enough a smiling boy face can blacken, his voice grow taut with curses, and the death doom of his ready gun snap through the silence.

Here in the woods human and animal sounds are subtly interfused. Mountain people can talk the language of beast and bird, treacherously enough sometimes, as when some woman or small boy squats hidden in the bracken and answers the liquid "bob-white" of the quail by the female's responsive love-cry, the low-whistled "whoo-oo-y, whoo-y." Nearer and nearer comes the confident "bob-white," although the bird itself remains to the end cautious and concealed until the last whispered "whoo-y" brings him to the view of a sure rifle.

I sometimes wonder where cattle calls come from, syllables sedulously handed down from one generation to the next. When the sheep come scuttling and scurrying with sharp, hurried bleatings across a pasture sown with boulders gray and shaggy as themselves, the cry that brings them to the salting is "sheep-i-nan, sheep-i-nan." When the cow bells are near at hand, their incessant clamor subdued by enfolding tree and bush, there is no need of calling the cows home, but when these are slow in returning from pasturage in the long gold twilight, then the cattle call of the mountains is a cry long to be remembered. Some mountain woman, standing by the bars, suddenly straightens and breathes deep, then utters a rich yodel that rings and echoes far and far up the black-recessed coves where who knows what mysterious evening herdsmen hold the cows. Patient, far-reaching, musical, it summons until the far bells reluctantly tinkle, and slowly come nearer and nearer; presently dusky horns and lumbering flanks emerge from deep forest gloom. While the cows shamble down to the home gate, from out the haunted ravine rings the sweet bell-note of the wood thrush, chiming on and on, at recurrent intervals, until full darkness possesses the forest, when another bird begins, and the pathos of the whip-poorwill issues from the wood like the swish of an elfin flail.

Animal life looms large in any impression of the mountains—animal life wild enough to haunt a remote climb with the padded stealth of a bear or the crackle of a rattler, and animal life tamed and serviceable, like that of the great lumber oxen. Down from the sawmill that chugs and shrills all day from a near-by gorge they trundle at sunset. I hear the clinking of chains before I see the sheen of black flanks and hear far off that most memorable of all mountain music, the singing of the lumbermen—rich male voices, always hard to locate because they echo so strangely sweet from the heart of rhododendron thicket or become muffled by the roar of a stream. Down past the house move the oxen with jingle of chains and pause to drink at the ford, a pool of pale gold framed by black green.

The noisy portable sawmill, briefly intrusive upon one ravine after another, makes little permanent effect upon the high dignity of mountain stillness. The place of its invasion where it has straddled some cataract is quickly obliterated by the stealthy green hands of fern and laurel, and its impertinent puffings and its screaming saws are subdued by the multitudinous murmur of the solitude. All human activity, all human personality, is merged into that incessant low murmuring of the woods. No wonder that mountain people learn to slip noiselessly along the trails, or that forms shy as fauns sometimes startle me, looking out from leafy frame, with watchful wildwood eyes. People here know how to hide away their cabin homes as bird and squirrel hide their nests. I have heard the tired wail of a child from some secret doorway, and have wondered if the crooning heart of the mountains holds comforting for little ones helpless before the caprice of some moody mountain mother.

Unthinkably remote as is this mountain life from all modernity, I once heard the melody of the highlands and the clatter of the vaudeville stage contend side by side for audience. The occasion was called an ice-cream festival, but the mildness with which one associates those words was not present here. As I sat on the dark porch of the host's shack, I looked through the lighted window, where on the bureau-top just inside lay a great murderous Colt. With darkling reference to its efficiency, the young mountaineer in charge of ceremonies announced that he didn't reckon to have no trouble around there that evening. The warning and the pistol supplied that sinister under-note always haunting the subdued decorum of mountain gatherings. Dusky tables were lighted by smoky lamps, and always silently some girl would be led away by some long, lithe youth to a seat at that shadowy board—crude enough act, which yet there beneath the high dim crest of Craggy against the stars had all the dignity of romance.

It was here on the porch that the two types of music competed; the old and beautiful, the new and tawdry. By all promptings of setting and of mood, the young people should have danced, but they dared not dance; church laws, the only genuine laws of the mountains, forbade dancing. Such strictness is an innovation on freer, older practice, and it was a tragedy for the old fiddler, who had given his life to making hearts and feet light for dancing. His white beard swept the strings, his eyes burned in appeal, and he fiddled with a mirth and music to make the heart break because he could win no response. Young feet stirred restlessly as they were entreated by the very gladness of the redbird's whistle, by the woven maze of fireflies in the pine, by the leaping flame of azalea against some black recess, but no one danced while the old man played his soul into the strings. Then in upon the elfin magic of his fiddle broke the ugly metallic discord of a phonograph set going for the evening's entertainment. It poured forth its vaudeville guffaws, its nasal vaudeville catches, its music-hall jokes. Valiantly for a while the old musician contended against an interruption so alien that he could not believe it would prevail. Yet it did, and slowly his brave old bow grew faint and its jocund wizardry died away, while the shining dance-lights in his eyes dimmed to a puzzled despair.

Yet how soon on that evening one forgot the phonograph! All alien vulgarity the mountains have power to subdue, inexorably secret. No wonder that mountain folk are given to long silences when they seem to be listening to the murmur of the woods rather than to the pettiness of neighborly chat. No wonder they translate that occult undertone into all manner of strange superstitions, propitiative to strong presences surmised. When the great winds come roaring down from the Balsam Gap, who shall interpret the summons of their trumpets? And who shall ever forget the sound of mountain rain? Its insistent downpour beats upon the brain as if that were but a drum that might be broken to serve some great thunder *motif* of the orchestra. Blare of the great wind, stealthy rustle of the fern, incessant roar of tumbling brooks, beat, beat, beat of rain, in their deep diapason, all petty human voices, and all cries of beasts that perish, all sweetest fluting of all redbirds, all are fused and forgotten.

Asheville, North Carolina.



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# THE BOOK TABLE: DEVOTED TO BOOKS AND THEIR MAKERS

## SPANISH DRAMATISTS OF TO-DAY[1]

BY ALEXANDER GREEN

THE historian of the drama whose function is to label plays according to convenient types and periods is obliged to confess his impotence when he enters the uncharted sea of the present-day drama. This is the age of revolt, the period of experimentation with new ideas and new prejudices and new forms to clothe them.

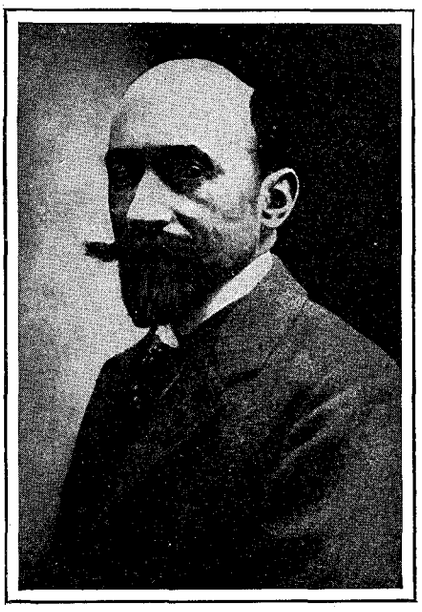
So well have the contemporary Spanish dramatists followed the varying tendencies and changing methods of the time that there is no one definition of the past that could include the acknowledged masterpieces from José Echegaray down to Benavente.

There is one bond of type, however, that connects them all and sets them apart from the other dramatists of Europe and America; namely, the peculiarly Spanish atmosphere of their productions. Ibsen, with all his Scandinavian setting and Northern philosophy, remains a true cosmopolitan. Tchekoff's dramas of abstract character, for all their brooding Slavic atmosphere, hold out a strong appeal to all who appreciate the passing spectacle of humanity. The fact that Professor Lewisohn in his "Modern Drama" (1915) devotes no space whatever to the Spanish stage; that Barrett H. Clark in his "Continental Drama" (1915) discusses only Echegaray and Pérez Galdós; and that it has been practically only since 1915 that English translations have appeared of the other great Spanish dramatists, reveals a probable fear on the part of the translators that the characteristics peculiar to the Spanish drama would not appeal to the average American reader.

And there is some reason for this apprehension. Spain is in many respects still the land of old-fashioned romance, reminiscent of the days of Lope and Calderón. Headed to-day toward progress and social evolution, she has not yet succeeded in assuring the triumph of new ideas that in other countries are no longer questioned. Political and social equality in Spain are still mere desiderata. Ecclesiastical domination in politics is still a living problem which Pérez Galdós finds it necessary to challenge. The bull-ring is still popular enough to furnish Blasco Ibàñez, the social doctrinaire, with the weapons of antagonistic propaganda. An aristocracy exists for the lashing mockery of Benavente, the Shaw of Spain.

The modern Spanish theater begins with Echegaray and culminates in Benavente. The former, in his earlier years a romanticist on the order of Hugo, was the first modern to wean the Spanish theater from its trans-Pyrenaic influences. Between Echegaray and Benavente stands Pérez Galdós, the greatest literary genius of modern Spain, who has combined his rôle of powerful novelist with that of an inspired playwright. The younger group of dramatists, whose rise aptly coincides with the new Spain that was born of the rude political awakening of 1898, appeared under the leadership of these three men.

Joaquín Dicenta, Eduardo Marquina, Linares Rivas, Eduardo Zamacois (whose representative plays Professor Turrell has for the first time made accessible in excellent English rendering), the Alvarez Quinteros, and Martínez Sierra compose the new generation that has altogether outgrown the romantic theater of heroic sentiment and tedious declamation, and has evolved almost to the point of a "school" another marked feature of the present Spanish stage. This is the realistic drama of individual life, a picture of elemental forces pitted against social conventions. With exceptions, much of the Spanish



JACINTO BENAVENTE

The Spanish dramatist whose plays have been translated into English by John Garrett Underhill

stage of to-day consists of "speaking tableaux" of shrewd psychological observations made within the range of the average person's life and experiences.

Judged by present-day standards, even Echegaray, with his often interminable rhetoric and melodramatic effects so reminiscent of Scribe and Sardou, belongs properly to a former generation. At his best in "El gran Galeoto" (of which an English performance was given in Boston as early as 1900), he has already become a classic, like Calderón and Ibsen and the Shakespeare to whom his enthusiastic audience compared him on the occasion of the *première* of his "Madman or Saint." His return in 1905 to active politics was interpreted by competent observers as an ability on his part to read and to understand the signs of the times.

An intense and unflagging sympathy with ideas of reform and progress has kept Benito Pérez Galdós, the famous author of more than fifty novels, right up to the forefront of the modern drama. For sheer constancy of purpose in social and political propaganda he is excelled only by the more radical Blasco Ibáñez of the ante-bellum days. The greatest triumph of his life, "Electra," which gives an incisive portrait of the conflict between conservatism and modern thought, drew upon itself the fiery indignation of the Clerical party, but also the sincere homage of the people. Vigorous realism and practical common sense distinguish also his "Grandfather," wherein another of the old Castilian traditions—family pride—receives condign treatment. With the approach of old age—he was born in 1845—Pérez Galdós has become a Socialist in the sense of being a broad-visioned social reformer.

His "Celia in the Slums," written in the second year of the World War, thus preaches an improvement of economic conditions. A still later play, "Solomon the Rogue," reveals the fact that the author hopes to see the great social change realized in the natural course of work, thrift, and orderly evolution.

Jacinto Benavente is the exact antithesis of Pérez Galdós. In his dramas he is never a propagandist and but rarely a partisan. On the contrary, he is a dilettante, and, like Anatole France, interested in everything and disturbed at nothing. He has no thesis to prove, no problem to solve, and no remedy to offer. The feminine heart, the frivolous philanderer, royalty and the moneyed class, misjudged charity and *bourgeois* morality, and the hundred and one comedies and tragedies of daily life, are just spoils for the author's keenness of observation and his genuis for irony. A true pedagogue, he teaches by laughter. Witness his masterpiece, "The Bonds of Interest," that profound comedy of masks recently produced in New York, in which between smiles and guffaws we soberly recognized our own dual selves, even as Tartarin of the Alps discovered what a strange compound he was of the heroic Quixote and the cowardly Sancho.

Benavente's reputation as a practical dramatist is shown by his recent appointment to the directorship of Spain's great National Theater. Having been an actor and playwright, like Lope de Rueda, Shakespeare, and Molière, Benavente now became a manager of his own plays, and it was the level-headed Benavente who somewhere said that both Shakespeare and Molière made a great deal of money as managers.

Thanks to the labors of Mr. Underhill, whose renderings convey at once the spirit, temperament, and the style of the author, we now possess translations not only of "La Malquerida," "The Evil Doers of Good," and "The Bonds of Interest," three plays of the highest order; but also of "The Governor's Wife," a drama of political and social bossism, "Princess Bebé," a record of a serious and successful search for truth amid many artificialities, and of "Autumnal Roses," the only piece in which Benavente approaches the problem play. It is to be hoped that in the place of mediocre curtain-raisers like "No Smoking," American readers may soon be made acquainted with his other plays of substance, such as "The Fire Dragon," "The Witches' Sabbath," or "La comida de las Fieras" (The Repast of Beasts), which play Martínez Sierra pronounced Benavente's masterpiece.

A younger man than Benavente, from whom he professes to have learned the principles of the drama, is Martínez Sierra. His highest aspiration is to be a *Spanish* dramatist. Spain for him is the best of all possible lands, Spanish ideals are unexcelled, Spanish women are the most beautiful and the most virtuous. His "Springtime in Autumn" extols Spanish conjugal fidelity, his "Mamá" features

[1] Contemporary Dramatists. Plays by Pérez Galdós, Linares Rivas, Marquina, Zamacois, Dicenta, and the Alvarez Quinteros. Translated by Charles Alfred Turrell. Richard G. Badger, Boston.

Plays by Jacinto Benavente. First and Second Series. Translated by John Carrett Underhill. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.



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the grace and dignity of Spanish womanhood as the *deus ex machinâ* in an embarrassing situation. Despite his modest aims, he should be better known in America. One of his best novels, "Tú eres la Paz," announced in an English version.

A direct descendant of Zorrilla, whose Don Juan Tenorio" is the war horse of l Spanish barnstormers, is Eduardo Marina. A poet-dramatist at his best like ostand in "Cyrano de Bergerac," he has ught his inspiration in the legends and aditions of Spain, and for this reason his ounding historical verse-dramas of "Cid" and of "Alva"—the delight of all true Spaniards—are bound to remain for the outside world so many coldly finished imaginative pieces. But his prose play "When the Roses Bloom Again" will be a better introduction to him for foreigners.

Just as Linares Rivas, especially in his "Family Lineage" and "The Claws," ay be classed with the reformer Pérez Galdós, so the Alvarez Quintero brothers will forever remain inseparable from Benaente, whose closest rivals they are and gether with whom they worked out the ory and practice of the Spanish drama daily realism. Human interest and lity to nature in atmosphere and characare their watchwords. "Doña Clarines" a clever precursor of our "Turn to Right" and "Nothing but the Truth" medies. "The Joyful Spirit," full of e sun of Andalusian life, vies with "The owers" in beauty and intensity as well the grateful popular favor.

The fecundity of some Spanish writers nothing short of the marvelous. Lope Vega is said to have composed no fewer an fifteen hundred dramas, exclusive of host of religious pieces which he wrote n his repentant moods. Some one has computed that he introduced something like twenty thousand personages on the stage. Pérez Galdós is a formidable rival of Balzac, Dumas *père*, and of Zola in the ower of creating characters. The Quin- brothers have had performed over a d dramas, comedies, farces, and as. The twenty-two volumes of nte's "Teatro" include over sev- titles of unequal worth. When it stood that many of the plays of te and most of the productions of nteros belong to that unfailing f delight to the Spanish playgoers, *o chico*—short plays, skits, vaudemic curtain-raisers, and inter- e begin to appreciate how inacy the Spanish drama of to-day o the custom of his predecessors, st analysis the Spanish dramatist has preferred to excel as the pur- brilliant improvisations.

## THE NEW BOOKS

FICTION

**All Roads Lead to Calvary.** By Jerome K. Jerome. Dodd, Mead & Co., New York.

Despite its title one takes up this book —such is the force of old associations— expecting a humorous story. Instead, as with the author's "Passing of the Third Floor Back," it is serious, indeed religious, in its appeal. English journalism, the labor agitation, the war and its spiritualizing effect, all are brought into an engrossing story that has also the universal background of interest, the love of man and woman.

**Happy Years (The).** By Inez Haynes Irwin. Illustrated. Henry Holt & Co., New York.

Many readers remember Phœbe and Ernest in the author's book of years ago. Here they are seen as parents, while the delightful father and mother of the old book are, of course, grandparents. We cannot say that the book will interest and amuse quite as much as its predecessor, but it is nevertheless readable and kindly.

**Jeremy.** By Hugh Walpole. The George H. Doran Company, New York.

We have already made reference to this admirable study of child life from the pen of one of England's strongest and finest writers of fiction.

**Linda Condon.** By Joseph Hergesheimer. Alfred A. Knopf, New York.

This is not one of the author's more elaborate works of fiction, but, like everything he has done, is subtle and convincing in its human psychology.

**Ridin' Kid from Powder River (The).** By Henry Herbert Knibbs. Illustrated. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston.

Sensational, of course, but better than the title might indicate. It has character as well as action.

ART

**American Painting and Its Tradition.** By John C. van Dyke. Illustrated. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.

A distinguished critic of American painting writes this volume on that subject with special reference to its representation by Inness, Wyant, Martin, Homer, La Farge, Whistler, Chase, Alexander, and Sargent—men all personally known by him, painters whose activity covered a period from 1878 onward. All these artists, save Sargent, have now passed on. As Professor van Dyke says, we are now beginning to see them in something like historic perspective. They expressed a time, a place, a people. They made an epoch in the history of American art. Hence the time has come to speak of them as a group and of their influence on our art. Certain things characterize this group of painters. They wrought, as we are told, during a period of great material development. But, what is more, they wrought in a common spirit. And they have left a great tradition of skill and style. To all those who are proud of these men and what they did—and who is not?—we commend Professor van Dyke's timely and suggestive volume.

**Jackdaw of Rheims (The).** From the Ingoldsby Legends. Illustrated by George Wharton Edwards. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston.

Rheims is a word that has been in everybody's mouth during the last four years, and to-day is a fitting time for a revival of interest in one of the legends that concern the old city. George Wharton Edwards has caught the spirit of Barham's verses admirably in his pictures and has made a pleasing gift book.

BIOGRAPHY

**Jonathan Trumbull, Governor of Connecticut, 1769–1784.** By His Great-Great-Grandson, Jonathan Trumbull. Little, Brown & Co., Boston.

Here is a solid, dignified tribute by Trumbull's great-great-grandson to his distinguished ancestor. A worthy biography of a Revolutionary leader who has been supposed to be the original "Brother Jonathan" whose name came to be used as a sobriquet for the United States.

**Memories of a Musical Career.** By Clara Kathleen Rogers (Clara Doria). Illustrated. Little, Brown & Co., Boston.

Musical people will find enjoyable entertainment in this book of reminiscences by a singer who had a large circle of acquaintances in the musical world for more than half a century and has an astonishingly good memory of details concerning them. The narrative is frankly personal, but has much in it of a wider interest.

**My Generation.** An Autobiographical Interpretation. By William Jewett Tucker. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston.

This book is correctly entitled: its interest is historical rather than personal; it is an interpretation of half a century of religious change going on in the churches of Puritan origin, chiefly in New England, written by a fair-minded, broad-minded, progressive-minded theologian, who describes a process of religious evolution of which he was an observer and in which he took an important part. It will be interesting chiefly as a reminiscence to those who lived through that epoch and as an interpretation to those of this generation who desire to understand the process which changed the religious thought of New England from that of Lyman Beecher to that of the Puritan churches of to-day. Its interest is historical rather than personal. Some of the questions which at that time seemed very important no longer interest us, but they were important because they were incident to a religious development which was changing for great numbers in the churches their conception of the character of God, the authority of the Bible, and the nature of the kingdom of heaven.

POETRY

**McAroni Ballads, and Other Verses.** By T. A. Daly. Harcourt, Brace & Howe, New York.

Clever bits of verse in Italian dialect. They have a great deal of human nature in them and combine fun and feeling

RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY

**Church We Forget (The).** A Study of the Life and Words of the Early Christians. By Philip Whitwell Wilson. The Fleming H. Revell Company, New York.

**Daily Altar (The).** By Herbert L. Willett and Charles Clayton Morrison. The Christian Century Press, Chicago.

This little volume, now presented in a popular edition, aims to be "A Guide and Inspiration to Private Devotion and Family Worship." It is arranged by the weeks and days of the year, with a theme for each day followed by comment, Scripture, a quotation from the poets, and a prayer.

**Winning of Religious Liberty (The).** By Joseph H. Crooker. The Pilgrim Press, Boston.

A scholarly history of the development of religious liberty, which, according to the author, includes three principles: that the Church should be a company of devout disciples separated from the world, separated from priests and bishops, and separated from the state and its Established Church.

WAR BOOKS

**As Others See Her.** An Englishwoman's Impressions of the American Woman in War-Time. By A. Burnett-Smith. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston.

**"I Was There."** With the Yanks on the Western Front, 1917–1919. Sketches by C. Leroy Baldridge. With Verses by Hilmar R. Baukhage. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York.

Mr. Baldridge acquired fame by his fine dramatic drawings of soldier life. They appeared in the "Stars and Stripes," the official newspaper of the A. E. F. His drawings and cartoons were emphatically the real thing. The volume presents in permanent form many of these pictures, accompanied by the prose and verse of Mr. Baukhage, who was one of the editorial writers of the "Stars and Stripes."

**Notes of a Camp-Follower on the Western Front.** By E. W. Hornung. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York.

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## MRS. TOM THUMB

The recent death, at the age of seventy-seven, of the Countess Magri, long known as Mrs. Tom Thumb, called out interesting newspaper articles, from one of which we quote the following paragraphs:

> Her parents were of large stature, and, with two exceptions, their children were of normal size. These two were Lavinia Warren (her right name) and her sister Minnie, who was even smaller than Lavinia and died thirty-five years ago. At her birth she [Lavinia] was of average size, weighing six pounds. She grew very slowly until she was nine years old and was thirty-two inches high and weighed twenty-nine pounds, when she stopped growing altogether. Lavinia's first appearance in public was at the age of seventeen years, under the management of a cousin who operated a "floating palace of curiosities" on the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers before the war.
>
> In 1862 she met P. T. Barnum and her long public career began, which occupied over fifty years, her last appearance having been at Luna Park, Coney Island, in the Liliputian Village, a few years ago, where she lived one summer with her husband, Count Magri. A gray-haired, lovable old lady who charmed the younger generation with her pleasant manner and her soft, sweet voice, and brought back memories of their youth to the older generation who attended her receptions and listened to her tales of travel.
>
> While Lavinia and her sister Minnie were traveling with Barnum she met General Tom Thumb and they were married and lived many years together. He died thirty years ago, and a number of years ago she married Count Magri, of Italy, also a dwarf, who became a naturalized American citizen before his marriage.

## A SINGULAR PREJUDICE

(*From the San Francisco "Argonaut"*)

"Salute no red-haired man nearer than thirty feet off," runs an old French saying, "and even so, hold three stones in the fist wherewith to defend thyself."

From Biblical times to the present day can be traced the prejudice against red hair. "Never lodge at red-haired people's houses," runs a precept in the fifteenth century "Boke of Curtasye," "for they are folks that are to drede." According to tradition, this distrust of red-haired people dates from the times of Judas, who himself red-haired, caused treachery to be ever afterward connected with hair of that color.

Shakespeare alludes to this belief when Rosalind, complaining of her lover, says, "Very hair is of the dissembling color." Whereupon Celia answers her: "Something browner than Judas's." Marston, in "The Insatiate Countess," makes one of his characters remark: "I ever thought his red beard he would prove false."

The fairy folk are at one with mankind in things in disliking red-haired people, although in other connections they are by no means averse to red. Pixies, indeed, are sometimes known in the west of England by the names of "red caps," owing to their fondness for caps of the color; while fairy cows, those strange, hornless animals which have the power of crossing the sea by themselves, are invariably red.

But the unfortunate human possessor of red hair meets with scant courtesy from the fairy folk; he it is who suffers most acutely from the unwelcome attentions of spriggans and buccas. He will be decoyed across the bogland at night by lights like those of cottage windows, only to find that these lights have, in truth, no existence; his cattle will be pixy-ridden, his colts chased all night long.

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